Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-184
Monday
23 September 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-184 *23 September 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Union Protests Attack on VOA Commentator *[ATA]* 1
Reportage on Visit of Slovene Foreign Minister 1
Rupel Arrives in Tirana *[ATA]* 1
Rupel Meets Foreign Minister *[ATA]* 1
Alia Receives Rupel *[ATA]* 1
Justice Minister Visits Greece, Meets Officials *[ATA]* 1
Aid Contingents From Turkey, South Korea Arrive *[ATA]* 2
CSCE Mission Views Current Situation *[ATA]* 2
Former Political Prisoners Start Hunger Strike *[AFP]* 3
Decree Establishes Property Registry *[ZERI I POPULLIT 13 Sep]* 3
Foreign Investment Agency Created; Duties Listed *[ZERI I POPULLIT 13 Sep]* 3
Lek Exchange Rate To Be Related to ECU *[ZERI I POPULLIT 13 Sep]* 4

BULGARIA

Reportage on Zhelev Trip to United States 5
Zhelev Speaks in Washington *[BTA]* 5
Zhelev Meets Eagleburger *[BTA]* 5
Last Session of Assembly Scheduled for 1 Oct *[BTA]* 6
Western Firms To Remove Hazards at Kozloduy *[AFP]* 7
SDS-Liberals To Support Zhelev Candidacy *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Names of Leaders of SDS-Center Election Lists *[SVOBODEN NAROD 18 Sep]* 7
Rights, Freedoms Movement To Run in Election *[BTA]* 8
Austrian Banks Negotiate Purchase of Foreign Debt *[BTA]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bratislava Rallies Address Slovak Independence *[CTK]* 9
Police Intervene at Public Against Violence Rally *[Bratislava Radio]* 9
Carnogursky Speaks Against Sovereignty Declaration *[NARODNA OBRODA 17 Sep]* 10
Dienstbier on 'Extreme Solutions' for SFRY *[Prague Radio]* 11
Trade With USSR in Strategic Chemicals Viewed *[CTK]* 11

HUNGARY

Government Condemns YPA Attack Against Croatia *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Border Guard Strengthened *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Security Council Meeting Requested *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Jeszenszky Stresses Noninvolvement *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Katona Outlines Government Views *[Budapest Radio]* 13
Antall on Democracy, Dictatorship; SFRY Crisis *[Budapest TV]* 14
Austria's Vranitzky Views Talks, SFRY Crisis *[MTI]* 15

POLAND

Sejm To Review Legality of Party 'X' Decision *[PAP]* 16
Party 'X' Charges of Electoral Lawbreaking Viewed *[PAP]* 16
Walesa Opposes New Cabinet Before Elections *[PAP]* 16
Bochniarz Urges More State Economic Intervention *[GLOS PORANNY 10 Sep]* 16
Mazowiecki Views Post-Election Party Prospects *[Paris LE MONDE 20 Sep]* 17

Center Alliance Lists Cabinet Position Candidates *[PAP]* 18
Mock Visit Focuses on European, SFRY Issues *[Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG 20 Sep]* 18
SFRY Views Reported *[Vienna TV]* 18
Mock: Bilateral Ties 'Excellent' *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 21 Sep]* 19
Economic Trade Agreements Signed With USSR *[PAP]* 19
Skubiszewski Comments on Relations With Lithuania *[Warsaw Radio]* 20
Concern Over Treatment of Lithuania's Poles Viewed *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 16 Sep]* 20

ROMANIA

Roman Views Croatia, Moldova, Domestic Issues *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 21-22 Sep]* 21
Slovenia's Rupel Assesses Talks With Roman *[Bucharest Radio]* 22
PNL's Campeanu on International, Domestic Issues *[TINERETUL LIBER 17 Sep]* 23
FDAR Calls For Government's Resignation *[DREPTATEA 17 Sep]* 24
Government Responds to Senate Leader's Criticism *[AZI 17 Sep]* 25

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Tudjman Offers Kadijevic Lifting of Barracks Blockade *[Zagreb Radio]* 26
Tudjman Sends New Cease-Fire Proposals to Kadijevic *[Zagreb TV]* 26
Cease-Fire Order *[Zagreb Radio]* 26
Kadijevic Writes Tudjman on Cease-Fire Violations *[TANJUG]* 26
Federal Defense Ministry Announces Cease-Fire *[TANJUG]* 27
Mesic News Conference on Crisis Situation *[Zagreb Radio]* 27
Kadijevic To 'Fully Rid' Army of Croatian Pressure *[TANJUG]* 28
Mesic Stresses Necessity of Full Independence *[TANJUG]* 29
Ministry Denies 'Secret Contacts' With Yazov *[TANJUG]* 29
FEC Spokesman on Markovic's Firing Ministers *[TANJUG]* 29
Italian Foreign Minister Telephones Loncar *[TANJUG]* 30
Markovic Wants 'Staff Change' at Defense Ministry *[TANJUG]* 30
Prime Minister's Right to Remove Ministers Restricted *[TANJUG]* 31
Armed Forces Under Defense Secretariat Orders *[TANJUG]* 31
'Tripartite' Proposal Seen as Basis for Future *[TANJUG]* 31
Economist Pessimistic on Future Prospects *[TANJUG]* 32

International

Britain Warns Citizens To Leave Croatia *[BBC]* 32
European Parliament Leader Asks Mesic to Brussels *[TANJUG]* 32
U.S. Reaction to Mobilization Reported *[Belgrade Radio]* 32
Slovene Foreign Minister Comments on Hague *[TANJUG]* 33
Croatia's Separovic Urges European Intervention *[Vienna Radio]* 33
UN Observers' Comments Prior to Debate Reported *[TANJUG]* 33
Daily Says Romanian Plane Unloaded Weapons *[TANJUG]* 34

Slovenia

Kucan Assails 'Mad Expansionist Serbian Policy' *[TANJUG]* 34

Croatia

Authorities Lift Split Sea Route Blockades *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Kadijevic Responds to Tudjman Offer To Lift Blockade *[TANJUG]* 34
Tudjman Visits Croatian Forces Near Novska *[TANJUG]* 35
Tudjman on Factions Rejecting Peaceful Solutions *[TANJUG]* 35
Croation President on Cease-Fire Decision *[Zagreb TV]* 36
Tudjman Appoints Rijeka Defense Commander *[Zagreb Radio]* 38
Council Appoints New Armed Forces Chief of Staff *[TANJUG]* 38
Troops Shoot Down Eight 'Enemy Aircraft' *[Zagreb Radio]* 38

Solta Barracks Surrenders to Croatian Police *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Croatians Seize Last Army Depot in Osijek *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Susak Says Chemical Weapons Used at Sibenik *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
SFRY: Croatian Crisis Center Issues Order on Supplies *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Sarajevo Reports Attack on Knin *[Sarajevo Radio]* 39
Retired General Named New Armed Forces Chief *[TANJUG]* 39

Serbia

TV Comments on U.S. Position on Crisis *[Belgrade TV]* 40
POLITIKA Urges Markovic's Resignation *[TANJUG]* 40
Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo Appeal to CSCE *[Tirana Radio]* 41
Serbs Complain About Physical Maltreatment in Zagreb *[Belgrade TV]* 41

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Doko Writes Kadijevic on Plans for Territory *[TANJUG]* 41
Soldiers, Reservists Arrive; Behavior Criticized *[TANJUG]* 41
Presidency Demands Withdrawal of Armored Columns *[TANJUG]* 42
Presidency Letter *[TANJUG]* 42
Defense Ministry Says Army Causing Civil War *[Sarajevo Radio]* 42
Crisis Monitoring Headquarters Set Up *[TANJUG]* 43
Bosnia Opposes Presence of Montenegrin Units *[Sarajevo Radio]* 43
Bosnian Defense Ministry Divided Over Current Policies *[Sarajevo Radio]* 43
Leader of Bosnian Serbs Denounces Pelivan *[Novi Sad TV]* 44

Union Protests Attack on VOA Commentator

AU2009124691 Tirana ATA in English 1033 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 20 (ATA)—The entire Albanian public opinion and the international one learned of the ugly criminal act organised by certain forces against the life of the honoured commentator of the "Voice of America" [VOA], Elez Biberaj and his wife, who have come on the visit to Albania in conformity with all the rules, as well as against the reporters of the newspaper "ΒASHKIMI", the editor-in-chief Qemal Sakajeva and the chief of the foreign section Mehmet Elezi, not sparing here even the life of the driver.

The group of the reporters, with the car of the newspaper "BASHKIMI" left from "Dajti" hotel to visit the historic museum of Kruja and, as it seems, has been surveyed all over the way. Near Nikel village, where the street is straight and wide, on September 18, 1991 at about 12.00 at mid day, according to witnesses, the car without a number plate that followed it, hit it first from behind, and in a few moments it has been hit again at the sides, forcing the car to overturn in the deep canal. The complete destruction of the machine proves that their lives have been at stake.

The question raises: To whom do such "incidents" serve? Why do they allow unidentified cars to move about?

It is not by chance that the press has several times raised the question of prohibiting the cars without number plate to move. It seems that someone is interested not to solve this problem, because in this way it is easier to cover up the traces.

The Journalists' Union of Albania energetically protests for this barbarous act against journalists which, in fact, is a blow for the democratic developments in Albania. This organisation demands even from the highest ranking organs to the persons responsible for this criminal act be found out and tried.

Reportage on Visit of Slovene Foreign Minister

Rupel Arrives in Tirana

AU2109114491 Tirana ATA in English 0953 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 21 (ATA)—Dimitri Rupel, foreign minister of the Republic of Slovenia, arrived on an official visit to our country on September 20.

Present to welcome him at the Rinas Airport were Ilir Bocka, deputy foreign minister and officials of the Foreign Ministry.

Present were also the economic adviser of the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana, Miroljub Zaric.

Rupel Meets Foreign Minister

AU2109114691 Tirana ATA in English 0955 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 21 (ATA)—On September 21, talks were conducted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between our delegation, headed by the foreign deputy minister, Ilir Bocka, and the Slovene delegation headed by the foreign minister, Dimitri Rupel.

During the talks they exchanged opinions and discussed on the possibilities of the extension of the relations between Albania and Slovenia in the political, economic, cultural fields etc.

After speaking of the actual developments in Albania, Foreign Deputy Minister Ilir Bocka voiced the worry over the current Yugoslav crisis. For the solution of this crisis, he said, we observe the interests of all, standing for an open dialogue where all the peoples living in Yugoslavia take part independently and on an equal footing, with peaceful and democratic means. Speaking of the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, he said that the fact that the Albanians do not take part in it cannot be justified, and that no one can speak on behalf of the Albanians in this conference. Deputy minister Ilir Bocka underscored that the Albanians in Kosovo should enjoy all the rights belonging to them and first of all that of the status of the republic proclaimed by them themselves.

On his part, the foreign minister of Slovenia, Dimitri Rupel expressed the desire that the relations between Slovenia and Albania develop and be further promoted in the political, economic and cultural fields.

Alia Receives Rupel

AU2109184991 Tirana ATA in English 1801 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 21 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Albania Ramiz Alia received at the seat of the Presidency on September 21 the foreign minister of Slovenia Dimitri Rupel and conducted a warm and friendly talk with him.

They in the meeting spoke of the democratic developments in Albania, on the present day situation in the Balkans, the situation in Yugoslavia and especially in Slovenia. They voiced their worry over the actual Yugoslav crisis and stressed among others that this crisis cannot be solved without the participation of the Albanians living in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia, who should enjoy all the rights equal with the other peoples of the Yugoslav federation. Both parties underlined the idea that the democratic and peaceful way would be the best solution to the present Yugoslav crisis.

Justice Minister Visits Greece, Meets Officials

AU2009133291 Tirana ATA in English 1033 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 20 (ATA)—A delegation of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Albania, headed by

the minister of justice, Dr. Shefqet Muci is on a visit to Greece at the invitation of the minister of justice of Greece, Mikhail Papakonstandinou. He was received by his Greek counterpart Papakonstandinou. They talked on various mutually benefitial issues.

Dr. Shefqet Muci informed his colleague on the democratic developments in Albania dwelling particularly upon the new legislation. He pointed to the endeavours of the Albanian Government for the establishment of law and order and social peace. He also informed Mr. Papakonstandinou of the reorganisation of the organs of justice.

Dr. Shefqet Muci spoke to his Greek colleague on the necessity of cooperation between the two ministries on such problems as that of extradition of citizens who commit penal acts in the two respective countries, other problems of civil character.

Mr. Papakonstandinou voiced the satisfaction over the visit saying that it is a major step for the creation of the relations of good neighbourliness particularly between our two peoples of common history. He expressed his full readiness and of his collaborators to cooperate and assist the Ministry of Justice of Albania on issues our country is interested in.

Dr. Shefqet Muci invited Mr. Mikhail Papakonstandinou, Greece's minister of justice on a friendly visit to Albania. He accepted the invitation with satisfaction.

Both ministers of justice attended the inauguration ceremony of an art exhibition and artistic works made by the prisoners.

Upon its stay in Greece the delegation is conducting working meetings with representatives of the Ministry of Justice, the parliament, the Supreme Court, the Prosecutor's Office, advocacy etc.

Aid Contingents From Turkey, South Korea Arrive

AU2009132491 Tirana ATA in English 1013 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 20 (ATA)—81 ambulances arrived in Durres sea port on September 19, in the framework of the credits accorded by the Turkish Government to our country, to be paid back in a long period of time. The ambulances are vehicles of the "Nissan" type of BMC of Izmir. A few weeks ago the first contingent of "0" ambulances, of "Otosan"type of Ram firm of Istanbul, one of the biggest firms of automobile construction in Turkey arrived. Spare parts arrived together with the vehicles. With these contingents the credit contract of the Turkish Government for the health service was realised. The contingent of 111 ambulances is being distributed in all the districts and industrial regions.

Present at the sea port to welcome the contingent of vehicles, so necessary for our health institutions, were representatives of the Ministry of Health, the pluralist executive committee of the Durres district. Present was also the charge d'affaires ad interim of Turkey's embassy in Tirana, Catagay Erciyes, who stated that these aids are given without interest, but simply for the friendship existing between our two peoples. Besides them, in the future other aids will come. Albania is in a transition period, hence it should be helped, and Turkey will do its best in this respect.

In the framework of the state aid of 100 thousand dollars that South Korea accorded to our country, the first contingent of 121 packages, containing school articles arrived in our country on September 18, 1991.

CSCE Mission Views Current Situation

AU2009132391 Tirana ATA in English 0959 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 20 (ATA)—The delegation of the CSCE information mission headed by Ambassador Dr. Wilhelm Hoeynck gave a press conference for the Albanian and foreign journalists. After providing a general tableau on his visit to Albania, he responded to the questions of the journalists on separate problems emerging during the visit of the delegation and on the economic situation and human rights in Albania.

It was our duty, he said, to see which were the fields where progress had been attained and which are the fields in which further progress is needed and in this context what aid might be rendered in the sectors this progress is needed. We have striven to realise a considerable number of meetings in order to realistically understand the current situation of the country and I think that we shall prepare a report based on what we observed. I may say that your country's current opening has greatly impressed us.

We had a great number of meetings according to our request. Human rights, he continued, constitute one of the basic elements of a country's stability. The CSCE pledges cover a very broad field. It is hard for a country which has a long history as yours separated for decades from the other part of Europe and in such a situation where no legal means existed to meet the pledges. This is a major work. A part of it, the first part is carried out, but in a number of fields a further progress is needed.

The CSCE information mission, divided in groups had on September 19 separate meetings with the chairman of the Democratic Party, Sali Berisha, the vice-chairman of the Socialist Party, Servet Pellumbi, the chairman of the Republican Party, Sabri Godo, the Secretary General of the Social Democratic party Lisen Bashkurti and representatives of the political association "Atdheu" (The Fatherland).

The delegation of the CSCE information mission left our country on September 19 afternoon.

Former Political Prisoners Start Hunger Strike

AU2109204491 Paris AFP in English 2032 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 21 (AFP)—About 50 former political prisoners in Albania started a hunger strike in Tirana Saturday [21 September] to back their claims against the government, an Albanian journalist reported by telephone.

The hunger-strikers established themselves in a sports facility facing the headquarters of the Democratic Party, Albania's main opposition party.

They are demanding that the Albanian Parliament declare them innocent, order the restitution of seized goods, allow them to return to their former homes, and help them find jobs.

Decree Establishes Property Registry

AU2209203091 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Sep 91 p 2

[Council of Ministers decree "On the Registry of Immovable Property in Towns"; date not given]

[Text] On the proposal of the Justice Ministry and on the basis of Article 127 of the Civil Code, the Council of Ministers decrees:

1. The ownership of immovable property in towns and property adhering to it will be registered in the registries of the mortgage offices [zyrat e ipotekave] (offices for the registry of immovable property).

2. Mortgage offices make the relevant registry entry in all cases in which, on the basis of the law or by the decision of a court or other state body, ownership of immovable property and property adhering to it is acquired or recognized.

3. Courts, notaries, and the executors of the decisions of courts and other state bodies are obliged to send for registry at the mortgage offices copies of decisions or other documents recognizing the acquisition or recognition of ownership, or which annul legal decisions on the transfer of property that was previously registered in a regular way.

4. Fees determined by a joint instruction of the Justice Ministry and the Finance Ministry are charged for the work of the mortgage offices and for other legal and administrative work carried out by the court administration.

5. The Justice Ministry is granted an additional 200,000 leks for its 1991 salary fund.

To complete the registration of immovable property in towns, the Justice Ministry authorizes the temporary employment of a number of additional staff, whose salaries will be paid from the fees collected according to Item 4 of this decree.

The salaries of employees of the mortgage offices are the same as those of notaries.

6. The Justice Ministry will produce detailed regulations for the work of the mortgage offices.

This decree comes into effect immediately.

Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Foreign Investment Agency Created; Duties Listed

AU2209204391 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Sep 91 p 2

[Council of Ministers decree "On the Creation of the Foreign Investment Agency"; date not given]

[Text] On the proposal of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Council of Ministers decrees:

1. The Foreign Investment Agency is created. It is based in Tirana, under the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and starts work on 1 October 1991.

2. The Foreign Investment Agency has the following duties:

a) It cooperates and organizes ties between foreign investors and financiers and Albanian partners on the basis of the program for economic development.

b) It publicizes abroad the main fields in which investments in Albania may be made.

c) It publicizes Albanian legislation relating to the placing, the encouragement, and the protection of foreign investments.

ch) [fourth letter of Albanian alphabet] It studies investment applications and submits them, with its own recommendations, to the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

d) It assists in the discussion and the drafting of investment contracts that are to be carried out within the framework of state credits.

e) It maintains ties and develops relations with similar organizations in other states, and represents them on request.

f) It encourages investments, especially when they are made totally or partially by foreign investors.

g) It distributes forms and questionnaires relating to the agency's registration procedure and work with the agency.

gj) [ninth letter of Albanian alphabet] It stores data, applications, and documentation relating to foreign investors and Albanian bodies to which foreign capital contributes.

h) It registers foreign investments.

3. The Teknoimport Foreign Trade Enterprise, under the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, is liquidated. Its work is transferred to the relevant enterprises that are under ministries or other central institutions, according to the nature of their work. The transfer of this work is to be accomplished on the basis of agreements between the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the relevant ministries or other central institutions.

The obligations of the Teknoimport Enterprise resulting from its activities until 1 October 1991 will be transferred to the relevant enterprises that cover the sector concerned or take over Teknoimport's activities.

4. The full-time staff, salary fund, financial plan for foreign currency expenditure for nontrading activities, and the movable and immovable assets of Teknoimport are transferred to the Foreign Investment Agency.

5. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the Executive Committee of the Durres District People's Council will take measures to transfer the warehouses of the Durres Branch of Teknoimport to other enterprises and to employ their staff.

6. The state budget will finance the Foreign Investment Agency until the end of 1991. From 1 January 1992, this agency will work on a self-financing basis, meeting its expenditure from its own earnings.

7. The Foreign Investment Agency works on the basis of regulations approved by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

This decree comes into effect immediately.

Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Lek Exchange Rate To Be Related to ECU

AU2209203591 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Sep 91 p 2

[Council of Ministers decree "On Foreign Currency Exchange Rates"; date not given]

[Text] On the proposal of the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of the Economy, and the Albanian State Bank, the Council of Ministers decrees:

1. From 10 September 1991, the exchange rates of foreign currencies in relation to the lek for all foreign currency transactions will be determined by the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of the Economy, and the Albanian State Bank.

2. The ECU, the currency unit of the EEC, will be the basis for calculating the exchange rate of the lek with foreign currencies. The State Bank will calculate the exchange rate of other freely convertible currencies on the basis of the current exchange rates of these currencies with the ECU on currency markets.

The exchange rate for all foreign currency transactions will initially be 30 leks to one ECU, which at present corresponds to a rate of 25 leks to one U.S. dollar.

3. The difference between the purchase and sale prices of foreign currencies against the lek will be determined by the Albanian State Bank.

4. State enterprises will have the right to keep at their disposal a proportion of their foreign currency earnings that will be approved by the Ministry of the Economy and the Finance Ministry in cooperation with other relevant ministries and central institutions. The remainder of their foreign currency will be sold only to the Albanian State Bank at the current exchange rate.

5. Physical or legal persons may meet their needs for foreign currency by buying it at the bank from their own financial resources or with bank credits. The bank has the right to dispense its foreign currency resources as credit.

Priorities for the supply of foreign currency will be decided by a commission consisting of representatives of the banks, the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of the Economy, and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations after applications have also been considered by the relevant ministries and other central institutions.

6. When enterprises acquire high profits in leks from exports, from various services, or from changes in currency exchange rates, the Finance Ministry, in cooperation with the ministries and other central institutions on which these enterprises depend, will determine these enterprises' obligations to the state.

7. The Finance Ministry will calculate the effects of changes in exchange rates and the value in leks of the nontrading foreign currency expenditure of different ministries and institutions in the fourth quarter of this year.

8. The Albanian State Bank, in cooperation with the Finance Ministry and the Ministry of the Economy, will issue the necessary instructions for the enforcement of this decree.

9. Item Four of Decree of the Council of Ministers No. 312 of 11 November 1982, "On Foreign Currency and Precious Metals," and Decree of the Council of Ministers No. 180 of 25 May 1990, "On the Valuation of Exports and Imports in the 1991-95 Five-Year Period," are annulled.

This decree comes into effect immediately.

Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Reportage on Zhelev Trip to United States

Zhelev Speaks in Washington

AU2009122691 Sofia BTA in English 1044 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—The five-day unofficial visit to the United States by Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev started with a news conference at the National Press Club in Washington, Mr. Kostov, press attache at the Bulgarian Embassy in Washington, said for the Bulgarian media.

Dr. Zhelev described the elections in Bulgaria scheduled for October 13 as decisive for the future of democracy. Democracy in Bulgaria will win categorically, President Zhelev said.

According to him, under the circumstances in Bulgaria it is difficult to make more categorical assumptions about the alignment of political forces and the possible coalitions in the future parliament.

Dr. Zhelev announced his intention to run for president in the next presidential elections.

Speaking about the economic reform in Bulgaria, Dr. Zhelev stressed that it is the policy of the Union of Democratic Forces which is being pursued now. He emphasized that the first phase—the monetary one—of the economic reform was successfully completed, as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank admitted. President Zhelev pointed out that "shock privatization" can be the possible policy of the new cabinet.

According to Dr. Zhelev, Bulgaria is the most stable country in the Balkans now.

Dr. Zhelev expressed concern over the developments in Yugoslavia and pointed out that a new Yugoslav Lebanon can emerge in Europe. He called on the European Community and the United Nations to commit themselves more actively to the peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. Dr. Zhelev favoured in his statement a stronger pressure on the neo-communist, neo-Stalinist government in Serbia.

President Zhelev stressed that Bulgaria does not recognize the existence of a Macedonian nation and elaborated on the fabrications by the Comintern in this connection. He expressed support for Macedonia's independence. It was confirmed that Bulgaria is ready to maintain cooperation with the republic in all spheres and at all levels during the process of establishing its independence. It was said that this cooperation can go so far as to turn borders into a purely administrative formality.

Dr. Zhelev met with Congressmen Frost and Mathews, members of the special group for giving aid to the East European Countries in the establishment of democratic structures and of the Subcommittee for Foreign Aid of the House of Representatives.

Dr. Zhelev also had meetings with members of the Free Congress Foundation and with Americans committed to Bulgaria and its problems, including Dr. Richard Rahn, vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Jeane Kirkpatrick, senior official of the American Enterprise Institute, and Frank Carlucci.

The arrangements for the visit of the Bulgarian president were made within a very short time. The idea about the visit was suggested by a group of Bulgarian-born U.S. citizens from Ohio, members of the U.S.-Bulgarian Macgahan Foundation. Today, September 20, was declared Day of Bulgaria by the Congress of the State of Ohio. In so far as protocol formalities allow, an official programme for Washington was also made, the Bulgarian Embassy official added.

The Bulgarian press attache said that the U.S. mass media are providing an ever more extensive coverage of events in Bulgaria. President Zhelev's statement on the coup attempt in the Soviet Union was immediately broadcast on the U.S. television, Mr. Kostov said.

Zhelev Meets Eagleburger

AU2209190891 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Washington, September 22 (BTA)—Most of the time at yesterday's three-hour-long meeting of President Zhelyu Zhelev and U.S. First Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, was devoted to the crisis in Yugoslavia.

The two statesmen share the opinion that the international public should make more energetic efforts and put more pressure on Serbia's leadership. The American side pointed out it would continue to rely mainly on the efforts of the European community. Many ideas related to this problem were discussed too.

Mr. Eagleburger agreed with the Bulgarian president that the international public and all countries should do their best and give political, economic and moral help to those Yugoslav republics which decided to declare their independence and sovereignty in a democratic way. It was underlined several times that every possible effort should be made to stop the bloodshed and bring the processes in Yugoslavia to a natural and normal end by peaceful means, through negotiations and without loss of life.

As Mr. Ognyan Pishev, Bulgarian ambassador to the United States, said in an interview on the national radio this morning, Bulgaria's position on the Balkan problems was very highly evaluated. Its principled position that recognition should be given to the right of all Yugoslav peoples to self-determination and separate statehood without forcible changes of Yugoslavia's internal and international borders was met with satisfaction.

At Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger's request the Bulgarian president stated his views on the processes in the Soviet Union.

According to Dr. Zhelev the developments in the Soviet Union after the failure of the coup are hope-raising, but the confidence in that country's democratic and prosperous future would be greater if a broad democratic movement spreads to all republics. Opinions were exchanged on some negative phenomena emerging at present in the Soviet Union.

The economic relations between the East European countries were also considered. The Bulgarian side pointed out that as the present practice shows none of the forms of economic relations applied so far could restore their natural and normal structure. Unfortunately the trade among the East European countries is rapidly going down and the economic ties among these countries, which for years were practically isolated in a single bloc, are irreparably breaking. The establishment of a more realistic exchange rate to the ruble was deemed to be an efficient step towards the revival of the economic relations in Eastern Europe.

The American side stated that the United States would take new steps for increasing its aid for the East European countries using various forms. The aid destined for the Soviet Union would increasingly pass through the East European countries.

The Bulgarian president informed the American side about the situation in Bulgaria on the eve of the elections. He expressed his confidence that the democratic forces will win. Replying a question Dr. Zhelev said that violence in Bulgaria is impossible.

The American side stressed the favourable impression of the peaceful character of Bulgaria's transition to democracy which is no less decisive than that in the countries of Central Europe. The opinion was expressed that the country's laws, including its constitution, should be observed as they are.

Mr. Eagleburger informed Dr. Zhelev about the opinion of the U.S. Department of State according to which the year that has passed since Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev took office as the first democratically elected Bulgarian head of state was in many respects an exemplary one. He noted that in some aspects President Zhelev made much more than he was expected to by some foreign observers. His political moderation and unflinching consistency, his skill to direct the processes in Bulgaria towards the peaceful establishment of democratic institutions and market economy structures were especially highly praised.

Later on Dr. Zhelev will hold another meeting with Dr. Richard Rahn and Ms. Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Last Session of Assembly Scheduled for 1 Oct

AU2009122391 Sofia BTA in English 0735 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Report by Evgeniya Drumeva]

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—The last session of the Grand National Assembly, which was elected at the first multiparty elections in June 1990, is to be held on October 1. The Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party, holding 211 seats, commanded a majority in parliament. This was the first time in more than 40 years that the opposition was represented in parliament: 144 MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), 16 MP's of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and 23 MP's of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF).

The Grand National Assembly passed more than 80 laws, adopted 178 decisions and approved 7 appeals and 12 declarations. It fulfilled its main task as a Grand Constituent National Assembly by adopting a new, though rather controversial, Constitution which many opposition MP's refused to sign.

Parliament elected the first non-communist president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, and the first coalition government headed by Dimitur Popov MP, affiliated to no party.

Parliament adopted a decision under which the Army, the police, the court, the Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were depoliticized.

According to observers, one of the most important laws adopted by parliament was the Land Act, on the strength of which land will be restituted to its former owners. However, it proved inapplicable. In their present election platforms the UDF and the BZNS (United) have pledged to struggle for the passage of a new, more radical land act.

The Grand National Assembly adopted a package of economic laws: the Protection of Competition Act, the Foreign Investment Act, the Commercial Code and the Cooperatives Act. However, due to differences arising between the political forces, parliament failed to pass the much-awaited privatization act, thus stalling the second stage of the economic reform.

Among the major political decisions made by parliament was the Act on Amnesty and the Restoration of Emigres to Their Confiscated Property and the Act on the Political and Civil Rehabilitation of the Victims of Repressions.

The Grand National Assembly initiated a reform in local administration by passing an Act on Local Self-Governing and Local Authorities.

Last night the National Assembly ratified the Agreement on the Granting of a Loan for the Structural Readjustment of the Bulgarian Economy signed between Bulgaria

and the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington on August 27. Under this agreement, Bulgaria will receive a 250-million-dollar loan for a term of 17 years. Moreover, in the first five years Bulgaria will be allowed to make only interest payments. The first tranche of the loan will go in buying crude oil and fuel oil.

Parliament ratified a credit agreement under which the World Bank would grant Bulgaria 17 million dollars to strengthen the institutions involved in the implementation of the structural reform. Most of the funds will be channelled into the private sector.

Western Firms To Remove Hazards at Kozloduy

AU2109172491 Paris AFP in English 1530 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Paris, Sept 21 (AFP)—Four West European firms will take part in a 1.2 million dollar European Community emergency program to eliminate safety hazards at Bulgaria's sole nuclear energy plant at Kozloduy, it was announced here Saturday.

Both U.S. and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) experts have identified serious problems at Kozloduy, which supplies up to 40 percent of Bulgaria's electricity.

A statement issued by one of the four firms involved in the project, the French Institute for Nuclear Protection and Safety (IPSN), said the agreement for a six-month emergency program was signed Friday with the Bulgarian state Committee for the Peaceful Application of Nuclear Energy.

The other three firms are the German Gesellschaft fuer Reaktorsicherheit (GRS), the British Nuclear Installations Inspectorate and AEA Technology, and the Belgian Association Vincotte.

The European Community will put one million European Currency Units (1.21 million dollars) into the program, the French firm's statement said.

The contract calls for an evaluation of safety levels at the four oldest of the six Kozloduy reactors and also involves assisting Bulgarian authorities with meeting international safety standards.

Results of the project will be reported back to both the EC and the IAEA.

An IAEA inspection team that visited Kozloduy three months ago called for the four oldest 440 Megawatt reactors to be shut down. Of the two newer 1,000-Megawatt reactors, one is in service and the other is functioning on a experimental basis.

SDS-Liberals To Support Zhelev Candidacy

AU2209132791 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] The Political Council of the Union of Democratic Forces-Liberals [SDS-Liberals] fully supports Dr. Zhelev's candidacy in the coming presidential election, the SDS-Liberals coalition states in a declaration received by the BTA.

Dr. Zhelev is the most prominent political figure in Bulgaria's present democracy. The SDS-Liberals highly regard the comprehensive political activity of the president and will work for his success in the election, the document reads.

Names of Leaders of SDS-Center Election Lists

AU2309103391 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 18 Sep 91 p 1

["244 Candidates for People's Representatives of SDS-Center [Union of Democratic Forces-Center] Coalition—Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Ecoglasnost, ASO-Independent [Alternative Socialist Association-Independent], and Democratic Party-Plovdiv"]

[Text]

1. Blagoevgrad constituency—Petur Antonov Dertliev
2. Burgas constituency—Stefan Vladimirov Radoslavov
3. Varna constituency—Zakhari Todorov Karamfilov
4. Veliko Turnovo constituency—Paskal Paskalev Paskalev
5. Vidin constituency—Lyubomir Vasilev Stefanov
6. Vratsa constituency—Angel Lyubenov Akhryanov
7. Gabrovo constituency—Kiril Nikolov Dunev
8. Dobrich constituency—Petur Petrov Slabakov
9. Kurdzhali constituency—Krasimir Petrov Kunev
10. Kyustendil constituency—Ivan Neykov Neykov
11. Lovech constituency—Anton Kirilov Antonov
12. Mikhaylovgrad constituency—Petur Petrov Koev
13. Pazardzhik constituency—Doncho Petrov Donchev
14. Pernik constituency—Yuliy Yordanov Zhotev
15. Pleven constituency—Stefan Veselinov Gaytandzhiev
16. Plovdiv constituency—Petur Zakhariev Kornazhev
17. Plovdiv constituency—Grigor Dimitrov Shishkov
18. Razgrad constituency—Todor Stefanov Azhderov
19. Ruse constituency—Zdravko Georgiev Tsankov
20. Silistra constituency—Todor Petrov Bratkov
21. Sliven constituency—Petur Kirilov Beron
22. Smolyan constituency—Khari Aleksiev Aleksiev
23. Sofia constituency—Petur Slavkov Staykov
24. Sofia constituency—Petur Antonov Dertliev
25. Sofia constituency—Angel Lyubenov Akhryanov
26. Sofia constituency—Georgi Delchev Bakaiov
27. Stara Zagora constituency—Vulkana Yankova Todorova
28. Turgovishte constituency—Nikolay Ivanov Drumev
29. Khaskovo constituency—Stefan Stefanov Zlatev

30. Shumen constituency—Dimitrin Zhechev Vichev
31. Yambol constituency—Nedyalko Asenov Yordanov

Rights, Freedoms Movement To Run in Election

AU2009174691 Sofia BTA in English 1515 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—The ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) will take part in the October 13 elections.

This afternoon the Supreme Court rejected the complaint lodged by 54 MP's against the registration of the DPS for the elections by the Central Electoral Commission. The Central Electoral Commission registered the DPS invoking the fact that it was entered in the political parties register.

Today's decision of the Supreme Court sustains the decision of the Central Electoral Commission and is not subject to appeal.

Austrian Banks Negotiate Purchase of Foreign Debt

AU2009174891 Sofia BTA in English 1459 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—Austrian banks are prepared to negotiate on a purchase of Bulgaria's foreign debt. This means that the 1,000 million dollars or so which Bulgaria owes them would be converted into participation in projects in Bulgaria, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Atanas Paparizov said upon his arrival from Vienna today. He described the results of his visit as "significant." Actual investments can be expected from Austria not only in tourism but also in the petrochemical industry, metallurgy and transport as well, he pointed out.

Mr. Paparizov had talks with representatives of the Federal Economic Chamber, the Industrialists Federation and the Danube European Institute. He also met with members of the boards of governors of the two largest Austrian banks: Reifeisenbank and Creditanstalt. The former has established a joint bank with the Bulgarian Bank of Agricultural Credit and finds its 10 percent share too small. Creditanstalt is working on at least three projects with Bulgaria.

Austria is becoming one of Bulgaria's major economic partners in the West. Despite the overall 50 per cent drop of Bulgaria's exports, exports to Austria have showed no decline and have even grown 10 percent.

The minister singled out as an important result of his trip the opportunity to familiarize the Austrian business circles and the press with the progress of Bulgaria's economy and its reform. He met with consideration when he said that the reforms will continue regardless of the election results, as all political forces support them. The minister hopes that the foreign partners will not choose the wait-and-see approach as they did last year.

Bratislava Rallies Address Slovak Independence

LD2209203191 Prague CTK in English 1506 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Bratislava Sept 22 (CTK)—A meeting of several hundreds of people here Saturday supported the idea of an independent Slovak state as the only possible form of existence of the Slovak nation. The meeting was organised by the "Movement for the Liberation of Slovakia" (HZOS), a grouping registered at the Slovak Interior Ministry on September 10, 1990, with headquarters in Bratislava. Its chairman Frantisek Kollar told the gathering "We reject any common state of the Czechs and Slovaks".

Most speakers said the process of separation of the Czechs and Slovaks cannot be stopped. The participants called for the resignation of the Slovak Government and parliament and for new parliamentary elections.

Earlier this week, two public gatherings took place here, one, attended by some 30,000 people, to support Slovakia's sovereignty. It was organised by a new grouping "For a Sovereign Slovakia" (ZSS), which on September 12 called on the Slovak parliament to declare Slovakia's sovereignty and adopt a Slovak constitution. About 3,000 to 5,000 people attended another meeting in support of a common state.

In response to endeavours by some Slovak politicians and initiatives to discontinue the existence of the common state, Czech politicians, artists, teachers and sportsmen launched a signature campaign on Friday, urging a referendum on the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks in a common state.

In Sunday's regular Federal television debate on the events of the past week, Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay predicted that if the two republics separated Slovakia would hold out economically only one year to the maximum. Baksay, a Slovak, added: "Politicians striving to push through Slovakia's independence knowingly or unknowingly liquidate the Slovak nation as a whole." His statement was questioned by Dusan Slobodnik, a representative of the initiative "for a sovereign Slovakia", who said that if separated, Slovakia would not be much worse off than the Czech Republic. He noted the favourable position of Slovakia which could become the gate to Eastern markets, notably the Soviet Union.

The Slovak Public Against Violence Movement (VPN) called a meeting in Bratislava's Central Square Sunday in support of a common state. [passage omitted]

Addressing the gathering at Bratislava's Central Square, Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky called on the two republic parliaments to be tolerant in seeking solutions to important issues of Czechoslovakia's constitutional arrangement.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart noted Czechoslovakia was at one of the most important crossroads in its history at which one single wrong step might cause the two nations to separate.

Federal Premier Marian Calfa supported calls for a referendum as the only fair decision about the country's future.

Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said "if we go ahead together, we shall overcome existing economic problems more quickly and easily".

While at the start of the gathering a police cordon had to separate the divided crowd, at its end the slogans supporting President Havel spontaneously changed to chants "Referendum" and "Common State".

Police Intervene at Public Against Violence Rally

LD2209181291 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Just a little while ago, a rally in support of our common state ended in Bratislava's Slovak National Uprising Square. It was organized by the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement with support from the coalition parties in power. Ivan Mjartan was there and reports from our studio:

[Mjartan] The rally began at 1600, and my estimate is that between 15,000 and 20,000 people attended. Despite the organizers' effort to paint a monolith picture, the participants split into two camps. One camp was formed by supporters of our common state, and it was possible to see that among them there were people from other Slovak towns, not just from Bratislava. The other camp, with fewer people, was formed by supporters of independent Slovakia. These two camps clashed before the beginning of the rally, but they were seperated by quick police intervention, and order was secured.

The platform was mounted by a very strong representation of our political scene. I will mention: Jozef Kucerak; Frantisek Miklosko; Milan Sutovec; Jan Carnogursky; Petr Pithart; Marian Calfa; Martin Porubjak; Vladimir Dlouhy; and Jan Holcik; as well as representatives of our culture, among whom there were Julius Satinsky, Milan Sladek, Tomas Janovic, and others.

VPN Slovak Council Chairman Jozef Kucerak was the first to address the rally. He stressed that, in these days, finding ourselves in the middle of a difficult path toward democracy and prosperity, some politicians offer us what they call the way out of all problems: an independent Slovak state. Nevertheless, I emphasize that not one party went into the election with a program to break up Czechoslovakia, continued Jozef Kucerak.

Frantisek Miklosko said in his speech that, as far as a constitutional setup is concerned, it is necessary to reach

a solution that will represent a consensus of all three legislatures and will satisfy all the people of Czechoslovakia.

Peter Tatar, VPN deputy of the Slovak National Council, described the appeal by the Initiative for Sovereign Slovakia as the appeal for a split of the Slovak National Council and effort to break up the Federation and destroy democracy.

In every case, it is necessary to stress once more that the rally was attended by a strong and loud group of people who chanted: Enough of Prague, Enough of Havel, Slovak State. I noticed that it was this group of chanting people to whom foreign journalists—a number of which attended today's rally—paid attention.

Carnogursky Speaks Against Sovereignty Declaration

AU1809121091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Sep 91 pp 1,3

[Speech by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky on Slovak Television on 16 September: "Slovak Sovereignty—Today's Task or a Future Prospect?"]

[Text] A group of signatories recently submitted a proposal to the Slovak National Council [SNR] in which it requests the SNR to adopt a declaration on Slovak sovereignty. They are trying to organize public gatherings, petitions, and so on, in support of their proposal. These signatories have a democratic right to make their appeal public and no one, especially not the government, will question this right. However, I must point out some of the issues and risks associated with their proposal. The appeal's signatories have not submitted a specific proposal for declaring Slovakia's sovereignty, they have merely appealed for its declaration. The question now is whether this should just be a general declaration of sovereignty, that is, a declaration without any specific legal or practical consequences—a grandiose declaration, so to speak. I believe that Slovakia does not need such a declaration. Slovakia's original sovereignty stems from a nation's right to self-determination and, in the long run, from the valid constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation promulgated in 1968. It is unnecessary to repeatedly declare Slovakia's sovereignty. A mere general declaration would only weaken the authority of the body that adopted it and would lessen the sovereignty that should have been constituted, but was not constituted.

Of course, there is also another possibility here. The declaration on Slovak sovereignty would not only be general, it would also initiate specific legal and practical consequences. Such a declaration would, first of all, violate the existing state's valid Constitution. Based on my meetings with foreign officials, I would like to inform you that no other state would at present be willing to recognize Slovakia if it proceeded toward independence in an unconstitutional manner. If the appeal's signatories insist upon Slovakia's international legal subjectivity, they would only place an even greater distance between Slovakia and other countries. As a government representative, I must also inform you that neither the Slovak Republic Government nor any other political force in Slovakia would currently be capable of fulfilling a declaration on sovereignty. Let me just give you a few examples. Recruits will join the Czechoslovak Army in a couple of weeks. Should they refuse to join the Army on the basis of the declaration on sovereignty? According to the law, this is a criminal act, and the government cannot guarantee that they would not be punished. Or, what kind of passports should we use to travel abroad? No country would recognize Slovak passports, and Czechoslovak passports would cease to be valid. How should we travel abroad? There would be countless similar greater or smaller practical obstacles to implementing a declaration on sovereignty.

I do not think that the Slovak National Council should adopt a declaration on Slovak sovereignty, but should proceed in accordance with the constitutional and constructive steps it bound itself to taking. First and foremost, during the most recent round of negotiations involving the Slovak National Council and the Czech National Council Presidiums, it was agreed that the national councils' presidiums will meet again in October and will discuss the specific contents of the treaty between the Slovak and Czech Republics. The Slovak National Council should concentrate on working out a common platform for its negotiations with the Czech National Council Presidium. The Slovak National Council Presidium should submit at least the principles for the proposed treaty between the two republics to its Czech partners at the October meeting involving the national councils' presidiums. At the same time, work on preparing the Slovak constitution should continue in the Slovak National Council. Let us be clear about one thing—if we are incapable of reaching an agreement among ourselves on the draft Slovak constitution, we will struggle in vain for recognition by the Czech Republic or even by the broader international community. If the October meeting between the national councils' presidiums was to end inconclusively and if the possibility of an agreement on concluding a treaty between the two republics was unlikely in the foreseeable future, it would then be necessary for us in Slovakia to consult each other and to choose another course of action. If the draft Slovak constitution is ready by then, the Slovak National Council should make a decision on the draft. The Slovak National Council should then also make a decision on the wording of the question that could be asked in a possible referendum, because only a majority of Slovak citizens can decide fundamental issues concerning Slovakia's constitutional and legal status.

The Slovak Republic Government is prepared to fulfill all the tasks it undertook to fulfill. This June, the Slovak National Council approved the implemented Slovak Government Policy Statement. We are fulfilling this policy statement and we want to continue fulfilling it

until the elections. Under the difficult conditions associated with the collapse of former markets, restructuring the national economy, and seeking effective methods for managing enterprises in the new situation, we are managing to keep the economy on course, to guarantee public order, and to protect everyone's civil rights and liberties. If we look at what is happening around us—from Yugoslavia to the Soviet Union—these are not insignificant results.

Dienstbier on 'Extreme Solutions' for SFRY

LD2109155491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1413 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Remarks by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier on the situation in Yugoslavia; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] I would like to say the following first: All Europe is experiencing a terrible dilemma, since two possible extreme solutions exist that are being proposed. One of them is simply to isolate Yugoslavia and let the Yugoslavs resolve the matters in their own way by themselves; and the second extreme solution is to send a military force there.

The first one is difficult to accept morally. We have information from various Yugoslav circles, not merely from the government but also from democratic forces in the various republics. I have to say straightaway that all of them are at one in assessing the situation very pessimistically. Some Croatian democrats even say with a kind of tragic sigh that probably one million people will have to be murdered here before we come to the conclusion that this is madness.

The second extreme possibility would be to send a military force there. Here one has to realize that to send military forces there will not be like Kuwait. This might clearly become a European Vietnam. Should military forces be sent there without the total agreement of all fighting parties, there is a danger that a real war will break out there. We know from the experience of World War II that Yugoslavia, Yugoslav nations are capable of fighting with great bravery.

We have to made a total effort—and diplomats are working in this regard on all fronts—to get the parties in the conflict to a negotiating table and to force a ceasefire, because this spark could spread the fire very far, and as we already know, it is already complicating the political situation in various countries. If, however, someone thinks that a one-sided solution is possible, he is very mistaken—because a one-sided solution could turn the streams of blood into rivers of blood.

Trade With USSR in Strategic Chemicals Viewed

LD2009132491 Prague CTK in English 2156 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 19 (CTK)—Trade in strategic chemicals from the Soviet Union has been confirmed in Czechslovakia, Martin Fendrych, spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, told journalists today.

The highly dangerous chemicals sell for high prices on the black market, Fendrych said, adding none of the chemicals involved is the "red mercury" as speculated earlier.

Fendrych said the ministry's special analytical group had uncovered evidence of the chemicals trade in the course of their investigtion of the "Moscow [as received] case".

The "Mosnov case" started in the night of August 29, when a fully armed unit of 36 Czechoslovak Red Berets and 15 military police occupied the airport at Ostrava-Mosnov, north Moravia, acting on a tipoff that weapons and drugs had been smuggled into the country, but nothing was found.

Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos later said a radioactive substance had been sought.

Langos and the Czechoslovak defence minister, Lubos Dobrovsky, who decided jointly to launch the operation, came under heavy criticism from the airport staff, the press, and some public figures, who called for their dismissal.

The critics said the operation was handled incompetently, threatening the lives of innocent people.

Fendrych also defended the interior ministry's decision to expel from Czechoslovak the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ), the International Union of Students (IUS) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), saying it was a political one.

As these organisations "cannot be caught red-handed", Frendrych said, the decision was based on their staffing and activities in the past and their links to the former totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia.

The three organisations have appealed the decision. Fendrych said.

Fendrych said the anti-drug unit set up in Prague in cooperation between the federal and Czech interior ministries at the beginning of September has scored its first success.

Last week, it liquidated an underground laboratory producing pervitine and seized four kilogrammes of ephedrine, worth about 150,000 deutsche marks in Germany, Fendrych said.

Jiri Vacek, the federal interior ministry's anti-drug specialist, said Czechoslovak chemists are in just as much demand in the West as the drugs they produce.

He warned against the spread of drugs from the Soviet Union into Czechoslovakia and against leakages from some opiate-producing plants in Czechoslovakia of raw materials used in the production of pervitine, brau and Czech crack.

Government Condemns YPA Attack Against Croatia

LD2009213991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Statement by Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman on 20 September; place not given—recorded]

[Text] The Hungarian Government learned with astonishment that the Yugoslav Federal Army [YPA]—despite the firm command of the country's head of state and head of government and the repeated warning of international public opinion—had launched its largest attack yet against the Croatian Republic. On the Hungarian side, we most firmly condemn this unlawful military action, which cannot be justified by anything and which is endangering the peace and stability of the region and the whole of Europe.

In accordance with the position of the EC and the member states of the CSCE, we most firmly demand the immediate halt to military action taking place in the region close to Hungary.

The Hungarian Government calls upon the states of Europe and other big powers to achieve with uniform, firm action the immediate halting of military actions, for this is how the possibility can be created for continuation of the talks aimed at settling the Yugoslav crisis. The Hungarian Government, too, is currently holding extensive, continuous consultations. We find it important that the UN Security Council deal with this problem without delay, for this is endangering international peace and security. At the same time, the Hungarian Government continues to guarantee that these military activities do not endanger the security of the Hungarian settlements here.

Border Guard Strengthened

LD2009111591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] The guard on the Baranya stretch of the Hungarian-Yugoslav border has been strengthened. Laszlo Gung reports.

[Gung] Colonel Jozsef Novak, commander of the Pecs Border Guard District, announced in Siklos that the Baranya stretch of the border has been strengthened with several hundred border guards. At the same time, more people will come to join the 50 members of the Budapest police regiment who have been serving in the region since the end of August.

Andras Turos, the public security director of the National Police Headquarters, proposes that the settlements along the border should be put into two categories. In the most endangered places, a 24- hour police observation service will be guaranteed. With the inclusion of the technical means of civil defense, a constant radio link will be developed. [word indistinct] would like the number of armored police combat vehicles stationed in the district to be increased.

In recent days, much explosive material has reached Hungarian territory from the Drava [river]. For this reason, a group of explosives experts will be set up in Harkany.

Security Council Meeting Requested

LD2009230991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Report by United Nations correspondent Gyorgy Bolgar]

[Excerpts] Hungary asked the Security Council to meet urgently on the Yugoslav crisis. UN Ambassador Andre Erdos is currently handing the request to the body's French president. [passage omitted]

As Andre Erdos said in his statement, given a short while ago, the failure of the previous European attempts has led to the situation now being presented to the United Nations:

[Begin Erdos recording] The world organization, with its moral and political weight and prestige, can help ensure that appropriate conditions should come about for such a settlement in Yugoslavia. I have no illusions; I know that if we kept trying to solve this crisis within the European framework, but to no avail, then it is obvious that the world organization will also be unable to settle the problems on site. However, I think that it would be strange if the United Nations watched the events passively in the present situation. [passage omitted]

The idea of sending a peacekeeping force has already been formed, as a thought, in Europe, and it can be seen that, for the time being, this subject was not settled successfully, most of all because for such a force to go to Yugoslavia, it is necessary that the fighting parties in Yugoslavia be ready to receive this force. [end recording]

Jeszenszky Stresses Noninvolvement

LD2009230491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Jozsef Barath on news conference by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky with unidentified correspondents; place and date not given; Jeszenszky comments recorded in English, fading into Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Barath] The Hungarian foreign minister stressed three main issues at his news conference:

First, the important fact that the EC should send observers to the Hungarian-Yugoslav border;

second, the right of the Magyars in Vojvodina to avoid being involved in the Yugoslav civil war;

and third, that it is unacceptable that Magyars of Vojvodina are being forced to leave their native land. [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] Hungary has become some kind of frontline state against its will. [passage omitted]

[Barath] The leader of Hungarian diplomacy began outlining the Hungarian position by saying:

[Jeszenszky] We attach very great importance to EC observance at the Hungarian border, as Hungary wants to exclude the possibility of any incident that may endanger peace.

[Barath] The EC received the Hungarian invitation favorably. Geza Jeszenszky invited Hungarian and foreign journalists to do some border watching. He called the stand a mistake because there is no point in sending peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia, as there is no peace, although in some areas—for example, in Vojvodina—there remains peace, and peacekeeping forces are needed to ensure it remains.

[Jeszenszky] More news was received on the call-up in Vojvodina. The latest information indicates that even those over 40 years old are being called up for special service. Magyars are forced to participate in a war in which they do not want to participate, which endangers their lives. [passage omitted]

[Barath] The Hungarian foreign minister also objected to part of the Magyar community in Vojvodina living in terror. Members of certain free troops are trying to force Magyars to leave the country, to leave behind their home and land. The possible exodus affects 400,000 people.

[Jeszenszky] This is unacceptable.

[Barath] I asked him: Have you experienced any intention that one or another of the fighting sides would want to involve Hungary in the conflict? Is it perhaps behind the call-ups in Vojvodina?

[Jeszenszky] I consider the call-ups to be a separate issue. It is a sad fact, but I do not see any intention in involving Hungary in the conflict. With this, however, they involve the Magyardom, the Magyardom of Vojvodina in the conflict, despite their intention. By the way, there are signs, absolutely groundless, rather irrealistic accusations, such as that a regular airlift between certain points of Hungary and Croatia, which refer to the fact that those who spread these rumors want to make an impression, at least for the internal public opinion—that is, for the Yugoslav or Serbian public opinion—that the Hungarians are against them. I deny this. Hungary, the Hungarian Government, and the Magyardom are not opposed to anyone. Hungary is for peace. We do not support Croatia or Slovenia but, instead, support peace and peaceful settlement. Another somewhat worrying sign that implies that certain forces would welcome Hungarian involvement in the conflict is that, to the best of my knowledge, the Hungarian positions that prove that Hungary wants peace and is not against the Serbs have not been published by the Serbian press. This itself shows that certain factions in Yugoslavia—mainly Serbian factions, papers—do not want the population to see clearly the Hungarian Government's peaceful intentions.

Katona Outlines Government Views

LD2109171391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Interview with Foreign Affairs State Secretary Tamas Katona by an unidentified announcer; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] During the week, Belgrade several times accused Hungary of intervening in the civil war. However, it was possible to refute and reject these accusations fairly easily. I asked Foreign Affairs State Secretary Tamas Katona about the Hungarian position:

[Katona] I think we managed, with great self-discipline, not just to keep ourselves distanced from these dangers, but up to now, the Magyar minority has been successfully protected from getting mixed up in this struggle in any way. This is not counting those villages—which could have been of any nationality—through which the front has passed. For it can be seen here that the People's Army goes in the wake of the Serbian free forces, and its way of separating the opposing forces is to occupy these territories. The Serbian endeavor can be seen in this—to occupy all those territories in Croatia upon which it has claims, and a little more—for as soon as the goal is attained, they become extremely willing to hold talks and would give back those territories to which they did not have claims in the first place.

This is a very sad policy, and I feel that Croatia made the mistake of not deciding in time—only at the end of August—to give autonomy to the Serbian minority in Croatian territory. As is usual in this region, fair ethnic borders cannot be drawn up within Yugoslavia. And, just for this reason, the key to the solution—whether they stay together in some kind of confederation or whether they separate—is only autonomy, territorial autonomy, and if from the point of view of territory—the whole nationality does not live in one area—then a kind of cultural autonomy is needed. This will probably be one of the magic solutions of the end of the 20th century to this question, the issue of autonomy.

[Announcer] There are very concrete and definite proposals, e.g., the one that said that a state of emergency should be ordered in two Hungarian counties, so that on one hand, refugees can be given accommodation, while on the other hand, this proposal referred to war activities.

[Katona] Why? I do not know who thought of this nonsense. It sounds wonderful; it would be an excellent way to create panic. There is no need for this. At the moment, there is no danger of these war activities spreading to Hungary. It is also obvious that the airspace violations by the Yugoslavs, which really happened—

unlike the airspace violations by Hungary—were not aimed at Hungarian targets. It is likely that it was simply easier for the aircraft to turn toward Donji Miholjac above Hungarian territory, and to release air-to-ground missiles at Croatian targets from over Hungarian territory in a rather disagreeable fashion.

[Announcer] But their comfort is not necessarily our comfort.

[Katona] No, but let me say to this that nothing is easier than to shoot down an aircraft flying at such low altitude. We saw that the Croats shot down several aircraft on the Croatian side. There are hand-held missiles, such as Stingers. Our fighter planes are also in the air; they could chase and shoot these aircraft. Heaven forbid! Heaven forbid that it should happen. Hungary has to take extremely good care to refrain from any such response. The greatest danger of the Yugoslav crisis is that it might escalate and spread to countries that have so far managed to keep clear of it.

Since October 1990, we have been complying with all the rules we ourselves made for ourselves. We even seize (Flaubert) rifles from the returning Yugoslavs at the border. However, I am of the opinion that a further arms embargo is necessary. Stricter measures are necessary so that these cease-fire initiatives are at last effective. I feel that the EC has not exhausted the means of exercising pressure. And there is nothing else but a kind of economic and political pressure with which the fighting sides—first and foremost the Serbian leadership, clearly aiming at power, and the Yugoslav People's Army, fighting its own war—can be influenced. It is a great tragedy that the very successful meeting of Jozsef Antall and Ante Markovic in Subotica has remained ineffective, for the two prime ministers' agreement was in vain. As usual, a very good personal relationship exists between them. And to me, it was a great help when I had to settle that Kalashnikov affair in Belgrade. So this agreement will have no effect, because there is no power in the hands of the Yugoslav Federal Government. Neither the government nor the Federal Presidency has control over its Army.

Antall on Democracy, Dictatorship; SFRY Crisis

LD2309002891 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall with unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from "The Week" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Various accusations are being levelled at the government because it interprets democracy differently and are saying that there is a leaning toward dictatorship. Does the danger of this exist?

[Antall] Those people who hypothesize that the Hungarian Democratic Forum or the government are forwarding some kind of one-party or party-state endeavors are, according to my conviction, even more reassured than I am that such a thing will not come about. It is a very regrettable propaganda trick to proclaim this, because this means they do not really sense the weight of democracy. It is customary, in a democratic system and in a parliamentary system, to exercise criticism and to make harsh attacks on the government. We have no objection to this. But it is not customary to question the basis of constitutional order or to question the fact that the democratically elected government is really functioning according to the rules of a multi-party parliamentary system. If there are differing views or debates about constitutional law, then that is why the Constitutional Court was invented. It is the Constitutional Court that will deal with these issues. One thing I can state without qualms is that as long as this government exists, no political dictatorship can be asserted here in Hungary, and we will take every measure and every step vis-a-vis this kind of dictatorship or vis-a-vis any endeavor of this kind. [passage omitted]

The danger of dictatorship exists when there is a wide-scale political basis for it; basically, when organizations are operating that would be capable of this. It is evident that the Soviet-attempted putsch, for example, showed that if there are political forces that exist in the government or the power sphere, then they can prepare such a thing. This is shown also, in the given instance, by the division of political forces within Yugoslavia. But in Hungary, there is no broad mass basis for this, either from the right or the left. But even if there were such a danger, I myself was the one who drew attention to the struggle against such extreme views at all times.

[Correspondent] You have mentioned Yugoslavia. You are soon going to the United Nations to deliver a speech. I believe this is unusual [words indistinct] as we are a nonpermanent Security Council member. Will Yugoslavia be mentioned in your speech?

[Antall] The Hungarian stand has to be made clear, especially since in the Yugoslav press and in certain nationalist press voices in neighboring countries, accusations have been made that Hungary is endeavoring some kind of border revision and wants to take advantage of this situation by interfering with these issues. This is not the case at all. We have outlined our principled position, which is that we stand on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter, which make it impossible and unacceptable to forcefully change the borders. This can be applied to Yugoslavia, its external and internal borders, too. Here the issue is, however, a political and military effort thaty means bolshevik power-salvaging in Yugoslavia, the salvaging of power of such communist forces that have no precedent even in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Now the UN Security Council will discuss this issue. The Security Council has to take a stand on an issue where there are armed fights and where the constitutionally elected head of state, who is simultaneously chief of the army and the head of government, states that what the

people's army and the cooperating Serb military groups do is without government control. That is, an army that is without control carries out military action which is against the existing consitutional order within Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

If during 74 years, no idea, no form of solution, was born as to how a collapsing communist world system can be handled, and this cannot be solved in Yugoslavia, and there is no answer to this in the area of the Soviet Union, then I can say with reassurance that this is the shame of the developed Western civilization. [passage omitted]

The Hungarian Government's task, and our task, is that we keep Hungary clear of these conflicts as much as possible and make possible every international control that proves Hungary's actions correct, without intervening. At the same time, we wish to ensure the intervention of the international organizations, that they defend the population, the minorities. Naturally, we give special attention to defending Hungarian ethnic minorites in the neighboring areas, as it is our duty to stand up for the Magyars living in the neighboring countries, just as we find it natural that the Yugoslav, Romanian, Czechoslovak, or other organizations and governments stand up for the ethnic minorities living in Hungary belonging to their own nation.

[Correspondent] How can a peaceful solution be found amidst war conditions?

[Antall] Hungary cannot, of course, solve the Yugoslav conflict. Hungarian policy, with special respect to the fact that a Magyar nationality lives in all three neighboring republics, has to be pursued with special attention and precaution. I am convinced that the world has not exhausted its resources of peaceful means, either, but the United Nations has to be ready to prepare all necessary means to exercise pressure. At last, the West European and U.S. Governments, as well as the Japanese, the Soviet, and the Russian Governments—all governments—should recognize that they can only achieve results in a united manner. When we stated that we did not support the solution that Austria, Hungary, Italy, or Germany should recognize the independence of Croatia and and Slovenia independently, we did not do it out of cowardliness or some kind of political carefulness, but out of the conviction that these countries' sovereignty should indeed be recognized when the time comes, but everything has to happen in a united form. Only then does it make sense.

I would also like to stress that there are people not only in Yugoslavia as a whole, but also in Serbia, important political forces, important politicians, and ordinary people, who are against this mad civil war and who do not want to participate. The sober Serbian people are both the world's allies and our allies, and we have to seek cooperation with them. We appreciate those Serbs and Serbian politicians who support a sober solution and a sober reconciliation.

Austria's Vranitzky Views Talks, SFRY Crisis

LD2109200691 Budapest MTI in English 1902 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 21 (MTI)—Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky gave an interview to PESTI HIRLAP on the experience he gained during his recent visit to Hungary. (The interview is carried in the Saturday issue of the paper.)

The chancellor emphasizes that the Budapest talks were marked by a particularly friendly atmosphere which was not only due to his friendly ties with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

The chancellor said there was no difference between the Austrian and Hungarian approach to the crisis in Yugoslavia.

"It gave me a great pleasure" he said, "that the Hungarian position concerning the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia complies with that of the Austrian Government, which is unwilling to make this significant step alone. I hold it very important that the Hungarian side does not support the idea of sending armed peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia, and prefers economic and financial sanctions and the application of other, nonmilitary means, including the involvement of the United Nations in the efforts aimed at settling the crisis."

Chancellor Vranitzky said he was not afraid that the Yugoslav crisis may escalate to Austria.

"I learned it with satisfaction that the senior Hungarian politicians consider these worries premature, even if Hungary has a much longer common border with Yugoslavia. It depends on the course of events whether Austria and Hungary need to co-ordinate their security policy measures. Due to my telephone contact with the Hungarian prime minister, we are keeping a tab on the situation together," Vranitzky said.

Sejm To Review Legality of Party 'X' Decision

LD2009131691 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—Deputy Stanislaw Bibrzycki of the Party "X" asked the Sejm Thursday to appoint an extraordinary committee which would examine the legality of decisions taken by the Warsaw District Electoral Commission excluding Party "X" candidates from running in parliamentary elections scheduled for October 27.

Bibrzycki also called on President Walesa to publicly take a stand on the issue.

The Sejm decided to hear explanations from the Chairman of the State Electoral Commission Andrzej Zoll.

In his speech in the Chamber Bibrzycki charged the State Electoral Commission with breaking the rules of electoral law. The first result of such actions, he said, was the decision to cancel the registration of Party "X" lists of candidates in 33 electoral districts. There are 37 districts nationwide.

Bibrzycki suggested this amounted to a clear manipulation aimed at removing from the political arena of the party which was a dangerous rival to others. He used such phrases as "stabbing the fledgling Polish democracy in the back", "reprisals applied out of mean political motives", and "political manipulation or perhaps even provocation."

Meanwhile, leader of the Party "X", Stanislaw Tyminski, sent a letter Thursday to the chairman of the Constitutional Tribunal charging the National Electoral Commission chairman with political manipulation. Tyminski urged recalling the chairman from his post.

Party 'X' Charges of Electoral Lawbreaking Viewed

LD2109090191 Warsaw PAP in English 1431 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 20—The chairman of the State Electoral Commission, Professor Andrzej Zoll, categorically rejected charges of breaking the law by electoral commissions made yesterday by spokesmen for Party "X".

Speaking in the Sejm Friday, Zoll also rejected the charge of partiality to the detriment of Party "X".

He quoted a long list of irregularities and abuses committed in the process of registering candidates for Parliament and revealed by district and provincial electoral commissions. Chronologically the first case was that of the Electoral Committee of Party "X". It delivered 5,500 signatures of supporters to the District Electoral Committee in Poznan which questioned the credibility of nearly a half of that number and found numerous traces of forgery.

Zoll said that several other obvious forgeries were uncovered on lists of signatures submitted by other parties, such as the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), the Alliance of Democratic Left, and the Conservative-Liberal Party. These discoveries made the State Electoral Commission ask the lower-level commissions to conduct more thorough checks of the credibility of lists. The verification work has not yet been completed, he added.

In conclusion, Zoll stated that it is not the electoral commissions should be accountable, but the prosecuting bodies should react firmly in view of undisputed instances of electoral offences.

In a separate development, the district prosecutor's office in Warsaw began checking the circumstances of work of the Warsaw District Electoral Committee, after the latter was charged with an electoral offence by Party "X" yesterday.

A spokesman for the prosecutor's office said Friday that "so far there are no justified grounds to suspect that an offence has been committed".

Walesa Opposes New Cabinet Before Elections

LD2009223191 Warsaw PAP in English 1742 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—President Lech Walesa rejected the idea of forming a new cabinet still before the parliamentary elections scheduled for October 27. The idea was put forward by a participant in a conference on the economic situation and policy organized by the team of presidential advisers Friday. The president, who did not attend the debates, called briefly at the meeting near its end. "No new cabinets are needed," he said, "we must hold the elections as quickly as possible and then set to hard work." Walesa noted that since the start of his term of office there were two forces which hampered decision-making by himself and the government: "functionaries of the former regime and their buddies, and the new, powerful worshippers of democracy who played to the hands of the former."

"I do hope that the newly elected Sejm will stop being an obstacle and grant the necessary powers to the president or the government," Walesa went on. "In that case it will be possible to repair the harm done by the present Parliament and the existing system of connections, and that harm is great."

Bochniarz Urges More State Economic Intervention

PM2309105691 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 10 Sep 91 p 1

["C.Z." report: "Henryka Bochniarz: 'I Don't Want To Be a Dummy'"]

[Text] "I realize that the situation in Lodz is very difficult and, consequently, the expectations that the

government will extend its assistance to the region are higher than elsewhere," Industry and Commerce Minister Henryka Bochniarz said yesterday at the beginning of her meeting with directors of Lodz industrial enterprises. "The time has now come to reach for elements of an intervention policy in managing the economy. This does not mean that the past two years, when the government did not intervene in the running of the economy as it implemented the Balcerowicz plan, have been wasted. They were very necessary because, among other things, enterprise managers needed to realize that there was no return to the old management methods and the old system of money being lavished on industry. Without the Balcerowicz plan, we would not have tackled the question of ownership transformation either, nor would we have restructured the industry sector. Today, however, because of the deep recession, even the better enterprises that follow the correct course are likely to find themselves in trouble.

"The question arises over how to help them. What elements of an intervention policy to apply without actually returning to the system of 'manual steering'"?

In her reply to this question, Minister Henryka Bochniarz proposed the creation of a new consortium whose principal shareholders should be the Industry Development Agency and the banks, together with representatives of light industry. The consortium would be required to draw up a project for restructuring and privatizing industry in the Lodz region as well and to supervise the project's implementation. The necessary funds could be obtained from integrated Western loans. Undoubtedly, we would also have to resort to granting preferential terms—in the form of tax allowances—to enterprises that are sound but, nevertheless, find themselves threatened with bankruptcy.

"I believe," said Minister Henryka Bochniarz, "that industry in Lodz stands a good chance of emerging from the crisis fast, given an active involvement of government agencies. But these processes must be initiated forthwith: I mean today".

Asked by her interlocutors whether, in most general terms, Vice Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and the government share her views on the use of intervention strategies, Minister Henryka Bochniarz replied: "I have no intention whatsoever of playing the role of a dummy in my capacity as government minister."

Minister Bochniarz's proposals fell on fertile ground. According to an announcement by Mayor Grzegorz Palka, it was precisely the initiative of the local authorities that led to the setting up in Lodz of the Regional Development Agency, whose brief will be to assist the progress of ownership transformations and restructuring of the industry sector. Grzegorz Palka stressed that the government's intervention policy would be judged as most effective if, as a result of intervention measures, light industry were to regain a strong position as supplier to the domestic market.

A considerably longer list of demands addressed to the central economic authorities was submitted by Jerzy Wojtkowski, chairman of the Nationwide Light Industry Representation Group. The troubles besetting this industry have been brought to the ministry's notice twice this year already. Unfortunately, so far there has been no response...

Mazowiecki Views Post-Election Party Prospects

PM2009115491 Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Sep 91 p 5

[Interview with former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Sylvie Kaufmann; date, place not given]

[Text] [Kaufmann] Do you think that the Sejm that emerges from the elections will be very fragmented?

[Mazowiecki] Yes. In your country, too, this phenomenon occurred before the regrouping into major parties. Here it means that the only solution after the elections will be to form a coalition government that can continue the program of transformations without backtracking, while nevertheless managing to make corrections to it. Obviously, the first group that comes to mind for promoting such a coalition is the post-Solidarty group. But to this end, the election campaign must be prevented from destroying the chances of cooperation.

[Kaufmann] Is it possible to envisage, for instance, a coalition government comprising the Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Congress (Prime Minister Bielecki's party)?

[Mazowiecki] From the viewpoint of programs, it is possible. But Mr. Bielecki's recent attacks on my previous government complicate matters. We have been fair, whereas he is indulging in electioneering.

[Kaufmann] Be that as it may, is the Democratic Union prepared to govern with President Walesa?

[Mazowiecki] Yes. My 26 August meeting with Lech Walesa was significant in this regard.

[Kaufmann] Do you consider justified the criticisms leveled at Mr. Walesa after the Moscow coup, blaming him for the weakness of his responses and of Poland's Eastern policy?

[Mazowiecki] Absolutely not; they are demagogic attacks. As if Poland were such a power that it could have influenced events! I am very pleased that Lech Walesa and I had that meeting on that occasion, because it was not normal for us not to have met for eight months. It is a sign of a degree of normalization and, I hope, of detente in our personal relations.

[Kaufmann] The architect of the economic "shock therapy," Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, is again being challenged in this campaign. Do you think he will survive the elections?

[Mazowiecki] He is indeed very much under attack, and I do not want to join these attacks. His anti-inflation and stabilization plan has played a very important role, and his perseverance has had some decisive effects on our economy. But this policy lacks flexibility when it comes to making corrections, especially in combating the recession. Our position is that the first step has been taken, that it has been painful and difficult, and that now the second step must be taken: This is our program.

Our economic difficulties have been joined by the problem of association with the EEC and the collapse of the market in the East. It is very important for us that our public regard association with the EEC as both a political and an economic factor. As for the eastern market, the "triangular" idea of Western financing of our exports to the Soviet Union is a good one. But such plans are encountering a very slow response, since events in the USSR should have prompted immediate actions. The impact of the three-day coup was perhaps too brief....

Center Alliance Lists Cabinet Position Candidates

LD2209233991 Warsaw PAP in English 1752 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Gorzow Wielkopolski, Sept. 22—A Centre Alliance victory in the forthcoming general elections would see Jan Olszewski as candidate for prime minister—said the president of the party, Minister of State Jaroslaw Kaczynski during a pre-election meeting at Gorzow Wielkopolski. The candidate for finance minister is Professor Winiecki—at present the vice-president of the European Development Bank in London. Kaczynski named four people as being qualified for important economic posts: Glapinski, Eysymontt, and two of the current deputy ministers, Diakonow and Zdrzalka. Kaczynski said that his brother was qualified for the area of state security and that the Ministries of Justice and the Interior would probably go to two Centre Alliance lawyers. "I admit that there is one ministry which we do not have a candidate for—that is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs", added Kaczynski.

Mock Visit Focuses on European, SFRY Issues

AU2009132291 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 20 Sep 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Support for Poland's Entry Into Council of Europe"]

[Text] Warsaw—The changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the situation in Yugoslavia are the most important topics of Foreign Minister Alois Mock's visit to Poland, which started yesterday.

A focal point are Poland's efforts to become a member of the Council of Europe as soon as possible after the next elections. Another important to; ic is Poland's intention to conclude a free-trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association, Mock said. As the youngest Hexagonale member, Poland also wants to intensify its cooperation in this regional body of cooperation. Mock stressed that, "because of its political and cultural history," Poland is "a natural member of the Western community of values."

Mock pointed out that Austria "especially supported" Poland's admission to the Security Council. He expressed confidence that Poland is "destined" to become a member of a "strengthened and extended EC."

In a dinner speech, the foreign minister said that the relations between Austria and Poland, which have been "perceptibly intensified" since 1989, are "good-neighborly and friendly." After the FRG and the USSR, Austria is Poland's third-important trading partner.

On 19 September, Mock met with Polish Foreign Minister Krzyzstof Skubiszewski, Sejm Marshall Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Senate Marshall Andrzej Stelmachowski, former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and "Club Europe" President Bronislaw Geremek.

On behalf of the Yugoslav peoples, Mock also called for the implementation of the "right to self-determination, democracy, and human rights" in Warsaw yesterday. The solution of political problems by military force "cannot be accepted by anybody," Mock stressed. "Communism is dead," the foreign minister said and, at the same time, paid tribute to Poland's role in the overcoming of communism. He assured Poland of further Austrian support to make the democratic and economic reforms a success.

SFRY Views Reported

AU2009182691 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1730 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Joana Radzyner report from Warsaw]

[Text] The Yugoslav crisis postponed the Austrian foreign minister's visit to Poland, which was originally planned for July. However, the Yugoslav crisis dominated once again the bilateral talks in Warsaw. Mock met with Polish Prime Minister Bielecki after a night full of work because of Yugoslavia, with long telephone conversations to Vienna and New York.

The meeting with Poland's President Lech Walesa, which was the protocol climax of this two-day visit by Alois Mock—already his third visit to Warsaw as foreign minister—was also oriented toward all-European matters. Today, Walesa said right at the beginning, I am interested only in the big problems—Yugoslavia, which is an alarm bell for us all, a symbol of many problems in Europe that have been dormant for 50 years.

The time for global topics is here. Bilaterally, the last open issue has been eliminated with Austria's abolishing compulsory visas for Polish citizens, as of the beginning of September.

The joint concluding news conference of Foreign Ministers Mock and Skubiszewski affirmed the impression of gratifying political normalcy and full concurrence in the policy toward the SFRY.

According to Skubiszewski, President Walesa is in the process of working out an idea of a European peacekeeping force that is to be used in Yugoslavia. In any case, Poland's active participation may be expected, Skubiszewski stressed.

His Austrian counterpart particularly appreciates this commitment:

[Begin Mock recording] Austria has always said that we should not get involved in the operational activities in Yugoslavia's republics. The neighboring countries should exercise restraint. After all, there are certain psychological reservations that make such involvement by the neighboring countries seem useless. [end recording]

Mock: Bilateral Ties 'Excellent'

AU2309102691 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 21 Sep 91 p 2

[Klaus Bachmann report: "Vienna-Warsaw Without Any Problems"]

[Text] Warsaw—In a joint news conference in Warsaw on 20 September, Foreign Ministers Mock and Skubiszewski emphasized that Austrian-Polish relations are excellent. Relative to its size, Austria is the largest investor in Poland. With 178 joint ventures, it comes close to the economic giant, the United States.

Mock stated with satisfaction that exports to Poland have increased by more than 100 percent in the past few months. Since compulsory visa requirements were dropped between the two countries, there are no more pressing problems.

During a lecture at Warsaw's Europe Club, Mock underlined that Poland does not have to return to Europe because it is and remains an integral part of it. Austria supports Warsaw's desire to become an associate member in the EC as soon as possible and its early membership in the Council of Europe.

In Warsaw, Mock was also in demand as a party politician: No less than three of the parties that are currently competing with one another in the Polish election campaign are in contact with the European Democratic Union, of which Mock is the chairman.

The Liberal-Democratic Congress, the party of the current prime minister, Bielecki, was accepted as an observer only a few days ago, along with the Center Accord, which is also represented in Bielecki's cabinet with a few ministers and with state ministers in the Belvedere.

The former prime minister and head of the Democratic Union, Mazowiecki, was the only politician without a public office whom Mock met in Warsaw. During his visit, Mock also met with President Walesa, Prime Minister Bielecki, Foreign Minister Skubiszewski, Walesa's state minister, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, and Archbishop Dabrowski.

Economic Trade Agreements Signed With USSR

LD2209052991 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 21 Sep 91

["Poland, Soviet Union Return to Barter"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Poland and the Soviet Union signed on Saturday several agreements on mutual trade following talks held here by visiting Soviet delegation led by First Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Operative Management of Soviet Economy Yuriy Luzhkov.

In tune with one of the documents, Poland will receive during the fourth quarter of this year iron ore, natural gas, cellulose and other raw materials worth 200 million U.S. dollars in exchange for Polish medicaments and products of the electroengineering industry.

Poland and the Soviet Union also agreed in a seperate document that Poland will export to the USSR 50 thousand tonnes of apples, 20 thousand tonnes of onions and 600 thousand tonnes of potatoes in return for the delivery of 1.5 billion cubic metres of gas.

The third document, signed by Polish Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz and First Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Operative Management of Soviet Economy Yuriy Luzhkov, was a protocol of talks held between Polish and Soviet economic delegations.

Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Dariusz Ledworowski said after the ceremony that all three documents were a result of Balcerowicz's recent visit to Moscow.

Spokesman for the Polish Government Andrzej Zarembski commenting on today's meeting between Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Yuriy Luzhkov stressed the political aspect of the Polish-Soviet economic cooperation.

Zarembski said that Premier Bielecki discussed with the Soviet guest the issue of long-range normalization of economic relations between the two countries since this "would allow Polish enterprises to know whether the Soviet market was to be open to them for many years." Zarembski added that this stand met with full understanding on the part of the Soviet delegation.

Skubiszewski Comments on Relations With Lithuania

LD2309102591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski paid an official visit to the Vatican on Saturday and Sunday. Answering a number of questions by a RZECZPOSPOLITA journalist, Minister Skubiszewski said that the Papal vision of ethics and morality plays a great role in the foreign policy implemented by the Polish Government.

Assessing current Polish-Lithuanian relations, the minister pointed out that we are dealing with a distrustful partner. Sundry fears that originate from the past are still operating. This has a bearing on today's issues, but this is not caused by our stance, which has always been aimed at maintaining the best possible relations.

The head of Polish diplomacy recalled that the Vilnius authorities took certain steps against the Poles in Lithuania that cannot remain unanswered by the Polish Government. Minister Skubiszewski reported that in letters and conversations with representatives of the government in Lithuania, he urged that Poles be granted Lithuanian citizenship and that it should be made possible that their property taken from them by the Soviet authorities be returned to them.

The decision to liquidate Polish councils was not very fortunate either. These councils could have much to be desired, but sending Lithuanian commissars in their place means reaching for the worst possible examples, Minister Skubiszewski stressed.

Concern Over Treatment of Lithuania's Poles Viewed

AU2109095391 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 16 Sep 91 p 1

[Adam Michnik commentary: "Concern"]

[Excerpts] In January, Lithuania's fate hung in the balance. As soon as the operation launched by Soviet commandos was over, a group of Polish parliamentarians went to Vilnius. It was a demonstration of Polish solidarity with a free Lithuania.

Today I am filled with concern as I pen these observations. I do not understand and cannot accept the recent decisions made by the Lithuanian state authorities. Poles have the same rights to elect their own local government bodies as all other citizens of Lithuania. Punishing an entire community for the faults of individuals is distressing. [passage omitted]

It so easy on both sides to set in motion the ominous logic of mutual complaints, a war of words, a war of blood.... I understand Lithuanians. I understand their fear of decentralizing tendencies in the state. I admire their determination in striving for independence and their love of their native country. I also understand the tragedy of the Poles in Lithuania. It is their home in the same way as it is the Lithuanians' home, and they, like the Lithuanians, were also subjected to the destructive pressure of Sovietization. They did not emigrate from Poland, but they no longer live in Poland. That was decided for them.

When I look into the future, I fear that, in few years time, no one will remember how this began, just as today no one can remember how the dispute between the Serbs and Croats began. Hatred engenders more hatred. That can happen....

This fact imposes special responsibilities on the political leaders of Poland and Lithuania. If public life in our countries is not to be dominated by nationalist tendencies that want an ethnically pure Lithuania or an ethnically pure Poland, then the vicious circle has to be broken today. Today, Poland's policy toward Lithuania has two objectives that seem to be contradictory. Poland must maintain good-neighborly relations with the Lithuanian state and also look after the Polish community. Both these objectives have to be realized.

That is why one has to understand how both sides think. One side is afraid for its independence and the other side is afraid for its autonomy. Both sides are extremely sensitive regarding their national pride—both can be easily offended and are susceptible to strong emotions. That is why double standards cannot be applied. The Lithuanians have the same right to sovereignty as the Poles, and the Lithuanian state has the same duty to respect the rights of minorities as the Polish state.

We frequently repeat that Poland has duties toward ethnic minorities. Today, I appeal to Lithuanian public opinion for wisdom, imagination, and understanding. The Polish community has a right to elect its own representatives, a right to its own local councils. Replacing such bodies with appointed commissars calls to mind bad traditions. It is a road that will inevitably lead to conflict.

There will be no true victors in that conflict. Hatred will triumph. Both our nations—the Polish and the Lithuanian—will be the losers.

Roman Views Croatia, Moldova, Domestic Issues

AU2209084891 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 21-22 Sep 91 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Andreas Unterberger in Bucharest; date not given: "The Entire European Stability Is Threatened"]

[Text] [Unterberger] Mr. Prime Minister, does Romania support the idea of having a European military unit establish peace in Croatia?

[Roman] I do not think that military interference is enough to stop the conflict. Its roots are deeper. We should take into consideration that a foreign military presence, even under the international flag, is not easily acceptable for the people there.

[Unterberger] For one side. The other side is asking for it.

[Roman] They are asking for it because they hope that this presence will recognize their wishes. We are facing the very dramatic situation of the renewal of nationalist feelings. I think that there will be clashes as long as all sides are not aware that only a political solution is correct.

A military presence in Croatia would be useful only if it is accepted by all parties to the confrontation. We, the countries in the Balkans, are far more aware of the legacy of this region than the west.

[Unterberger] What is this legacy?

[Roman] There is trust among the Balkan countries. We understand better what is going on.

[Unterberger] Is this a Monroe Doctrine for the Balkans, that there must not be any interference from the outside?

[Roman] This is not a doctrine, but it is a fact that we have lived together here and have special links of trust between all these countries. We must use these links.

It is too simple to believe that this is an ideological conflict. There are very profound and traditional feelings of the people for their country, which do not take into consideration the other problems, such as the very alarming economic situation, a problem that is broached by the EC. Something much more profound has come up here and must be taken into consideration in the efforts for peace.

We clearly recognize the right to self-determination and, meanwhile, we recognize that there is a Yugoslav community. I hope that a solution will be brought about, because otherwise the entire European stability could be threatened.

[Unterberger] The Soviet Republic of Moldova has been independent for some time. Do you personally want its reunification with Romania?

[Roman] The independence of this republic is a wish of its people. With enormous sacrifices these people have resisted Sovietization for more than 40 years; more than 1 million people were moved or deported to the Soviet Union's most remote east.

At the moment, the Republic of Moldova is a reality as an independent and sovereign state. They are our brothers; the historical background is well known; it is clear that this was one of the oldest Romanian areas. However, the people of Moldova themselves decide on their future.

[Unterberger] What does Romania want?

[Roman] We must accept something that is in the spirit of history. Of course, we do that.

[Unterberger] You do not have any reservations that Romania will then have a large Russian minority and a smaller Turkish minority?

[Roman] We should not have any great fears in this respect. We fully recognize the rights of the minorities; they should be able to express their national identity. However, we must also take into consideration that there are many Russians in eastern Moldova and that they moved there over the past 10 or 20 years. Some of them are considering the possibility of returning home.

[Unterberger] Do you want them to return?

[Roman] This is not my problem but that of those who are guiding events in Moldova now.

[Unterberger] Over the past two years, it has been repeated critically that such a poor country as Romania still has a relatively large secret service.

[Roman] This criticism was highly exaggerated. The truth is that the role of the intelligence service in Romania has been strongly reduced.

[Unterberger] How big is it?

[Roman] It only has 5,000 or 6,000 people all over Romania—which is not very important. In addition, it has changed its methods and goals. Today—I do not want to speak about the situation six months ago—this problem is transparent.

[Unterberger] But it is true that the secret service continues to be outside government control?

[Roman] This is true. It is under the control of Parliament. Indirectly, however, it is also under the control of the government. The security service—it is no longer a secret service but an intelligence service—is supposed to constantly report to the country's newly founded Supreme Defense Council. Thus, it is sufficiently possible to examine the information acquired by it and to control it.

From the legal point of view, things are proceeding well. In practice, the complete reform of the service is a matter of time and cooperation with the Western community.

[Unterberger] How can the West help?

[Roman] Simply through direct relations with the new service. They already exist. The problem is to change methods and mentality. These services should never undertake activities that are aimed against any individual. They should observe only those activities that might endanger the state.

[Unterberger] You yourself are in no way dissatisfied to lead one of the few governments that has no full control over the secret service?

[Roman] This is a consequence of our situation. The president was elected directly. Of course, it is one of his rights to control this information, but the head of the service also reports to the government.

[Unterberger] What about the reports about tensions between you and President Iliescu?

[Roman] These were speculations. The truth is that our cooperation was constant. It has always been aimed at enforcing the role of the law and the good functioning of the state. There is no real basis for such a confrontation.

[Unterberger] In the United States, the President is the strong man; in Germany, it is the chancellor. Who is it in Romania?

[Roman] From the legal point of view, the prime minister is the head of the executive branch and responsible to Parliament. The president, who is elected directly, is the head of the state and the army. He is involved in questions of national security.

[Unterberger] Romania has now decided on very impressive economic reforms. Are there still leftist elements in them, or are they completely capitalist?

[Roman] The program is not leftist in the sense of anticapitalist. The issue is the introduction of liberalism with a fully functioning market, but with a strong social component. In this sense, we are close to the social-democratic movement. We see ourselves as center-left; I myself call it social liberalism.

[Unterberger] You have repeatedly expressed strong interest in the German minority in Romania. However, the future constitution contains very few regulations that protect the minority. Romania is still following a very nationalist-centralist path.

[Roman] In the Constitution there are several regulations on minorities: on education, defense in court, and administration. Romania is always willing to accept all European standards in this field.

[Unterberger] The German minority has particular problems in the current privatization of land because they were already expropriated before the nationalization by the Communists. In some villages, the Germans received good compensation over the past few months; in others, they received hardly anything.

[Roman] In the law, there are special stipulations on their rights. If they return, they have the same claim to land as those who stayed here.

[Unterberger] The emigrants are also treated completely equally?

[Roman] Yes. A few days ago, I was in Sibiu, which the Germans call Hermannstadt. The prefect told me about several inquiries by people from Germany who want to move to Romania again. This is treated with great frankness.

If there are problems in some areas, where these rights are not taken into consideration appropriately, it is necessary to change the behavior of the local authorities. They must observe the law.

[Unterberger] Who will change it?

[Roman] The government. I promised that, and I will keep my promise.

[Unterberger] Only three-quarters of arable land are being privatized in the land reform. Why?

[Roman] It is 80 percent. The rest belongs to state enterprises. It is land that did not belong to the peasants in the past, but to the large landowners and to the church in the 19th century.

These tracts of land are not privatized for two reasons: First, the state invested much here, and it works well. Second, history shows that there is always the danger of a decline in production during the period of privatization. Therefore, these enterprises provide a national reserve.

Slovenia's Rupel Assesses Talks With Roman

AU2009140891 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Statement by Slovene Foreign Affairs Minister Dimitrij Rupel in Bucharest on 20 September—recorded; in English with superimposed Romanian translation; the following is from the Romanian]

[Text] Slovene Foreign Affairst Minister Dimitrij Rupel, who arrived on a visit to our country, conducted talks with Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman at Victoria Palace. At the end of the meeting, the Slovene guest made a short statement to this Bucharest radio station:

[Rupel] Well, I am very happy to report that we just held a very meaningful talk with the prime minister. Of course, we discussed the situation in Yugoslavia and the dramatic changes taking place there. I found understanding for Slovenia's position and agreed on certain issues pertaining to Yugoslavia in general and Slovenia in particular. We examined the situation, the causes of

the crisis, and our hopes. I told the prime minister that Slovenia wants to play a certain role in the international arena, not a big or global role, but something more in keeping with the size of Slovenia.

One of our priorities is to establish good diplomatic relations with countries like Romania, Bulgaria, and Austria, and with all our neighbors and other countries in this region. Slovenia also wants to establish better economic relations and develop cooperation with your country. Until now we have had very little, too little, trade with Romania, only $25 million or something like that. We believe that with the changing atmosphere, with the changing political atmosphere, we can have more.

PNL's Campeanu on International, Domestic Issues

AU2209201291 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 17 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[First part of interview with National Liberal Party President Radu Campeanu by Nicolae Tone; place and date not given: "Radu Campeanu: We Are All in a Tunnel, in Complete Darkness"]

[Text] [Tone] Mr. Radu Campeanu, these interviews of ours, entitled "From Tuesday to Saturday," deal with a few major subjects. One of them is the opinion of our interlocutor about Romania's current situation. Who are we, here and now, at the gates of Europe?

[Campeanu] It is very true, we are located at the gates to Europe, and yet, we are inside Europe. We are an interesting people with very many talents, many of them unfulfilled. Maybe history is also to blame for it; not maybe, history is surely to be blamed as are the great vicissitudes that fell upon us, and the constant pressure with regard to our borders. Most often we did not find any friends outside our borders.

On the other hand, these talented people are lucky to be living in a country with rich soil. Throughout history, this rich soil was desired by many large populations and by big imperialist powers, which often met here. They met here for the very reason of ruining the life of the Romanian people. This is why I believe that Romanians have not yet found their cultural identity.

I would like to elaborate on this idea. In 1918, after World War I, the Romanian people were able to achieve a very great ideal: the ideal of national unity. Looking at the map of Greater Romania, Romania after 1918, we realize that the roundness of its borders indicated its fulfillment, despite the fact that some Romanian populations were still outside these borders. Practically and politically, this could not be done differently. If this Romanian unification, this Greater Romania, meant the fulfillment of a beautiful national ideal, then it had to be followed by years and maybe decades in which the Romanian people finally achieved state unity and had to seek, define, and improve their cultural fulfillment. However, the misfortunes of World War II and those of the communist regime followed, thus halting Romania's progress toward cultural fulfillment.

Therefore, I believe that the stage we are entering at this point—for we have undeniably entered a new stage of Romanian history—has to be the stage of achieving and perfecting this cultural fulfillment of Romanians, and not at random, but within the boundary of our natural borders. What does this stage mean in my view? It certainly means our immediate integration into the culture of Europe to which we are linked. We are linked to it by history, culture, and we are linked to it through our temperament and interests.

[Tone] After these basic deliberations, let us return to present-day realities.

[Campeanu] First of all, I see Romania stifled by needs. This is a sure thing and what I say is a platitude. I see that Romania is extremely disoriented. I can see that the Romanian public and our people do not know yet where to turn, especially at the political level, because the political level is a priority today. An economic restoration is expected that is not taking place. Consequently, throughout society one can note general mistrust and signs of very pronounced suspicion and doubt. I find that at this point the Romanian people have no exact image about their future, but they are still looking for it. They are doing so at all levels and they are especially trying to find a sort of normal life. For we are not living a normal life at this point. Undoubtedly, there are difficulties. There are very great economic difficulties stemming from considerable differences: In the economic and industrial balance, in the moral balance, and in the wage balance. For instance, it is enough for me to tell you—and, with some common sense, this is easy to note—that the tremendous discrepancy between people's incomes and today's prices create not only an imbalance, but also a gap between the possible living standard of people and what they should be offered to indeed benefit from a correct standard of living. This situation creates a great deal of mistrust and obstructs the opening toward a truly new society that should develop at this time. I am very much afraid that in the near future this general mistrust may create a special balance in which extremist trends and irresponsible trends may find very favorable ground for development.

For a man who believes in democracy and people's freedom, it is no surprise that some people harbor extremist thoughts. What is of concern is the fact that the Romanian public, which for 45 year has been cut off in many respects from developments in Europe, could—at this point—attach greater importance to extremist propaganda than it should. And this poses a risk. First for the situation of our people themselves at home, because you can imagine that the victory of rightist or leftist extremism would actually mean the restoration of a system similar to the one we have just cast off. This would occur at the domestic level, but such a comeback of rightist or leftist extremism would also discredit us in the West even more. Why do I say even more, instead of

merely discredit? Because, up to now, those in power in Romania have made so many mistakes that they are discredited in the West. This is a fact, and we have to see things as they are.

Without necessarily polemicizing, I can tell you, for instance, that the government reshuffles, these purely cosmetic changes involving people with no real political weight at home or abroad, have surely not earned—and will not earn us—any credibility.

[Tone] My previous question contained the term "the gates of Europe." This is no gaffe; we know the expression used with regard to Romania: "At the gates of the Orient."

[Campeanu] Up to now, we have been closer to the Orient, and we are now trying to cast off the vestiges of this Orientalism. We will never be able to relinquish them completely, but I am convinced that our place is in Europe. I believe that the Romanian people are surely within Europe, even though Romania is located at its geographical boundary.

[Tone] Had you been elected president of Romania, what do you think Romania would look like today?

[Campeanu] It is very difficult in politics to say what would have been if this or that had happened. Surely, we would have had difficulties—as all former communist countries, that is former satellites of the Soviet Union, have known them and continue to know them. However, I believe one thing. I believe that had I been elected, surely we would neither have had the March events in Tirgu Mures nor, certainly, the miners in Bucharest. We would probably not have had a number of things, such as extreme measures taken by the current government to please certain Western financial circles. This was the case with price liberalization. In my view, the measures are applied very badly, and they are misunderstood. Misunderstood, because this government, driven into a tight corner not only because of the objective conditions it has inherited, but also because of its mistakes and demagogy in connection with wages at the beginning of 1990, as well as because of a still bureaucratic and collectivist mentality, has pushed this country to a deadlock with almost no way out.

Therefore, I believe that had I been able in any way to influence the decisions that were made, there would have been much fewer of these bureaucratic residues. And I am convinced that today, even if we had faced difficulties, each citizen in our country would have had tangible prospects and hopes because of the freedom enjoyed by private economy and private initiative. This means that each citizen would have been able to see the end of the tunnel. Presently, no one can see the end of the tunnel into which the current Roman government has driven us. All of us are now in a tunnel, in complete darkness, without knowing a precise deadline for our hope to come true.

[Tone] Have you met King Mihai?

[Campeanu] Yes, I have met him. I visited him when I was one of the founding members of the Romanian National Council, which was created in Paris in 1978. On that occasion, I visited him, together with others—about four or five people. I have not seen him since. Although I used to go very often to Switzerland, I was not among the Romanians who visited him. Unlike others, I never tried to visit him when I actually had nothing to tell him. I saw him again later, and I believe that everything that was said and written in connection with all sorts of negative, immoral things about him are slander. I believe that King Mihai is an honest person.

FDAR Calls For Government's Resignation

AU2209071091 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 17 Sep 91 p 1

["Communique" issued by the Steering Bureau of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Romania (United Opposition); place and date not given]

[Text] The Steering Bureau of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Romania [FDAR] (United Opposition), held a meeting on 14-15 September 1991 and examined Romania's economic, social, and political situation and assessed the economic, social, and moral failures, which is the fault of those who are currently in power.

The insufficient social protection and the continuous inconsistency in taking economic decisions—an example of which is the law on privatization—disregard for the well-grounded claims of trade unions, and the refusal to hold a real dialogue, and the mistakes of the land law and its faulty implementation have led to general corruption and to an alarming expansion of the serious economic crisis.

The refusal to take responsibility for the fundamental political errors, the use of half-measures and half-truths, the incapability of current authorities to embark on the path of democracy and European integration, the refusal to completely leave communism behind, the equivocal and diversionist manner used, and the use of systematic misinformation—mainly practiced by Romanian Television—and the establishment of police state practices, impede the country from internationally recognized democratic standards and values and isolate Romania from the former communist European countries.

Therefore, the FDAR (United Opposition) calls on all democratic formations, party or nonparty organizations, trade unions, and student leagues to join the United Opposition and halt the continuous degradation of the economic, social, political, and moral climate in which the National Salvation front and its allies have throws the country and contribute to Romania's revival.

FDAR (United Opposition) declares the following:

1. We call for the government's resignation and for the establishment of a transitional government, which should ensure correctly carried out elections.

2. The current draft of electoral law is completely unsatisfactory. If the government does not ensure the necessary conditions to organize and properly carry out the elections, the FDAR reserves for itself the option not to participate in the electoral process.

3. If it participates in the local elections, the United Opposition will present common lists or common candidates.

4. The acceptance of independent Romanian and foreign observers, who can watch over the correctness of the elections, should be included in the electoral law.

5. The FDAR demands that people who used to be members of the central and local Romanian Communist Party apparatus, and those who were members of the oppression apparatus—which is guilty of crime, abuses, and violence—be prohibited by law from appearing on candidate lists.

6. We want the Romanian Parliament to urgently adopt the parliamentary initiative of the National Liberal Party regarding the ban of the Romanian Communist Party, the Socialist Party of Labor, the hidden communist parties, and the chauvinistic and anti-Semitic groups that saw hatred among social categories, incite interethnic conflict, and incite conflict among religious denominations.

7. We call on all governments and parliaments of democratic countries in the world to recognize the independence of the Republic of Moldova.

The FDAR Steering Bureau, after discussing a number of organizational problems, decided that the presidency of the Forum should be ensured through rotation by the presidents of the parties and groups that it includes. The current president is Mr. Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, president of the Association of the Former Political Detainees of Romania [AFDPR].

Mr. Mihnea Moroianu has been elected as executive vice president and Mr. Traian Florea as general secretary of the forum.

The FDAR Steering Bureau

Government Responds to Senate Leader's Criticism

AU2009104391 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 17 Sep 91 p 1

["Communique" of the Press Bureau of the Government issued in Bucharest on 13 September]

[Text] Romania's government will abstain, as it has thus far, from responding to accusations and invectives used by the president of Romania's Senate [Alexandru Barladeanu] to characterize the government, prime minister, ministers, and leaders of the ruling party in a number of press interviews.

The Press Bureau of the government wants to inform the Romanian public that the Senate president's statements and insinuations about dishonorable acts or irregularities in the governing process and about political actions of certain government members before or immediately after the December 198% revolution are totally untrue.

It is regrettable that the Senate president joins in the accusations made of late by certain publications, accusations about which we have issued the necessary statements and clarifications. These continue to be available to the public. On the other hand, the elementary obligation of supplying the necessary proof rests with the accuser, not the accused. It is time to recall that in the past, some great Romanian politicians—such as Iuliu Maniu, Constantin I. C. Bratianu, Titel Petrescu, Lucretiu Patrascanu, and many others—were sent to communist prisons for their democratic convictions on the basis of deliberately fabricated accusations and were sentenced on the basis of false and unsubstantiated proofs by the communist regime installed with foreign help.

We are convinced that our young democracy cannot be again stifled by such practices, which are being strongly condemned today in all former communist countries, including the Soviet Union.

It goes without saying that the accusations made by the Senate president do not affect in any way the relations between the Senate and the executive branch, relations which are based on respect, trust, and true recognition of the principle of the separation of powers in the state.

Federal

Tudjman Offers Kadijevic Lifting of Barracks Blockade

LD2109022791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman sent last night at 2215 [2015 GMT] a letter to General Veljko Kadijevic, which we carry in the original:

Despite the fact that you signed a cease-fire agreement in Igalo, the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia are continuing their attacks on towns and settlements in Croatia on both land and sea. You have sent new forces from Serbia and Montenegro, and you are issuing new orders for an even more destructive military revenge, on the pretext of getting the blockades of barracks lifted. (?In the history of) the people and among the world's public you will bear responsibility for the devastation and the attempt to subjugate Croatia.

We propose that you issue an order halting further offensive attacks and (?killings). I, for my part, will issue an order lifting the blockade of all barracks and (?ensure) supplies of water, electricity and food. (?You can have) up to 2400 [2200 GMT] on 20 September 1991 to carry out and accept this proposal. (?Who would) believe that [word indistinct] understand what kind of catastrophe would be caused by the further aggression of the Yugoslav People's Army on Croatia, which is defending its democracy and its existence.

Tudjman Sends New Cease-Fire Proposals to Kadijevic

LD2109191191 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Sep 91

["Text" of letter from President Franjo Tudjman to Federal Defense Secretary General Kadijevic; 21 Sep]

[Text] Republican President Franjo Tudjman has sent [Federal Defense Secretary] General Kadijevic a letter containing new proposed measures to stop clashes in Croatia. Here is the full text of the proposed measures:

In connection with my letter dated 20 September and your reply today, and in order to establish a real cease-fire and not only a cease-fire on paper, I propose that you, on behalf of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, and I, on behalf of the Croatian Armed Forces, simultaneously issue public orders today, Saturday, 21 September, at 1900 [1700 GMT] to all Armed Forces under our command ordering the following:

Yugoslav Armed Forces to stop all offensive operations, movements and bringing in units to the territory of the Republic of Croatia, including air reconnaissance flights and air raids, and also to lift the blockade of all sea ports in Croatia and to lift the blockade on air traffic.

Croatian Armed Forces to stop all offensive actions against the YPA units, and at the same time the local authorities to start supplying all barracks under the control of the Armed Forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the territory of Republic of Croatia with water, food, electricity, and medical equipment.

I propose that the deadline for full and final implementation of the measures contained in our orders should be 1200 [1000 GMT] on Sunday, 22 September, and that immediately after that, talks should start on the regulation of mutual relations and dissociation between the Croatian and Yugoslav Armed Forces, President Tudjman's proposed measures say in conclusion.

The letter containing the proposed measures was sent at 1500 [1300 GMT] today.

Cease-Fire Order

LD2209133691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] We have received from the cabinet of the president of the Republic of Croatia the following text of the order issued by President Tudjman:

Following the correspondence of 20, 21, and 22 September 1991 and a telephone conversation at 1150 [0950 GMT] on 22 September 1991 between the president of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, and the Federal secretary for national defense, General Veljko Kadijevic, an agreement was reached on a mutual and simultaneous end to all offensive operations and movements. On the basis of this agreement, I issue the following order:

First, to the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia, the National Guard and the Ministry of Internal Affairs—to stop all attacks and movements and establish absolute cease-fire at 1500 today, 22 September 1991.

Second, to the local organs of power—to restore normal water, food, electricity, and medical supplies to all the barracks under the control of the SFRY on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Once this agreement on genuine cease-fire is carried out, negotiations will begin on the realization of all duties laid down by the agreement signed in Igalo on 17 September 1991, and on the disengagement of the SFRY Armed Forces and the forces of the Republic of Croatia.

Kadijevic Writes Tudjman on Cease-Fire Violations

LD2209204991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1929 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—The Information Office of the Federal Secretariat for National Defence (SSNO) has publicized the following letter sent at 2000

this evening by Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman:

"I wish to inform you that following the orders on an absolute cease-fire and an end to all attacks and movements, your armed forces have committed the following violations of our agreement:

"1. At 1515, a heavy mortar attack was launched on the Vukovar barracks.

"2. From 1508 to 1517, the Vinkovac barracks were exposed to fierce mortar fire.

"3. Since 1500, a heavy mortar attack has been going on in the localities of Bogdanovacka Kosa, Mitnice and Bogdanovacka villages, and the Vukovar barracks on Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units.

"4. At 1545, a forest surrounding the naval sector command in Sibenik was set on fire.

"5. At 1555, tear gas was thrown on the naval sector command in Sibenik and two cars set on fire.

"6. At 1655, an operation began to position mortar launchers and anti-aircraft guns at Razinska Petlja (outside Sibenik) and to re- group Croatian forces for an all-out attack on military facilities in Sibenik.

"7. At 1620, soldiers and officers in the Razine barracks were called to surrender. This call was followed by an attack on the barracks.

"8. At 1830, there was evidence of preparations for an attack on the Lora naval base.

"9. At 1850, fire was opened on the YPA facilities in Sibenik. The Ante Jonic barracks commander's wife and children were brought outside the barracks to force the commander to surrender.

"10. At 1855, fire was opened on the Kupica facilities from the direction of Vitaljin near Prevlaka (presumably in Sibenik).

"11. At 1930, a mortar attack was launched on the naval sector command and the Ante Jonic barracks in Sibenik and since 1945, all YPA facilities within this garrison have been under an overall attack.

"In the interest of peace and of all citizens of Croatia and Yugoslavia, I demand that you order an immediate end to these attacks.

"[Signed] Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense

"[Dated] 22 September 1991, 2000 hours"

Federal Defense Ministry Announces Cease-Fire

LD2209123991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 22 September (TANJUG)— The Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is authorized to announce the following order issued by the Federal secretary for national defense:

"In keeping with the declaration signed in Igalo on 17 September 1991, at 1150 today, agreement was reached with the leadership of the Republic of Croatia that both sides issue, and publicly announce, a mutual order that all firing, attacks, and movements must cease at 1500 on 22 September 1991.

"With respect to this, I order all commanding bodies, units and institutions in the territory of the Republic of Croatia to cease all attacks and movements and insure an absolute cease-fire as of 1500 on 22 September."

[Signed] Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, Federal secretary for national defense

Mesic News Conference on Crisis Situation

LD2009202991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 20 Sep 91

[News conference by Presidency President Stipe Mesic with unidentified correspondents in the Croatian Assembly—live; broadcast in progress]

[Excerpts] [Mesic]...the Army turned a deaf ear to this. General Kadijevic, urged by Lord Carrington, later signed the cease- fire decision, the agreement. One may have believed that the Army was going to return to barracks after this. Things escalated then.

Instead of peace, war gained even more momentum. I tried to convene the state Presidency today. However, public transportation in the city and the motorway is blocked so that even I, the Presidency president, was unable to attend the session. I asked Generals Adzic and Kadijevic to halt all troop movements until we hold the session. At the same time, I asked them to give me a reply. I received nothing, but I was told that a large number of motor and armored units were being concentrated on the territory of Serbia and Montenegro, which are partly already entering Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] is obviously acting autonomously and obeying orders which do not come from the state Presidency. This is why I call on all soldiers, officers, and commands not to participate in aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. I call on them to take the side of the people, the side of legally elected leaderships of these republics. I also call on all those who are implementing illegal decisions to exercise restraint and return to their home garrisons. This is the only way to halt this destruction, to halt this dirty war, so that we can seek a political and peaceful way out of the crisis. The Army cannot win this war, nor can the army impose solutions of just one

side—in this case, it is Serbia. There is no reason that—for the sake of defending so-called rights—an entire army should be mobilized and that mobilization be carried out. The Presidency did not pass a decision on mobilization, and this is an illegal document. People should return to their homes and get down to their work, while legal institutions and those representing them should seek solutions for a way out of this crisis. In the same way, the European mechanisms which have been involved in our crisis should be used for a peaceful denouement. This is the only solution. This is why I once again call on all those who accepted to carry arms, who obey the orders which are not backed by the state Presidency, to take the side of legal organs of power. I call on all soldiers to restrain from mutual killing and shooting. I call on all the pilots who carry out destruction unknown in World War II. I call on all sailors and officers on ships to sail into their home ports and stop devastating Croatian cities and coast. I believe that this appeal will have its effect on everyone so that problems can be resolved through the institutions of power, that every crisis can be resolved democratically and that the arms fall silent. One more appeal to Generals Adzic and Kadijevic: Listen to the voice of reason and implement the Presidency decisions, because all those who fail to do

[passage omitted] As you know, I addressed a demand to the United Nations to take action to prevent this war and agression from escalating and to halt this aggressive war, which has reached its culmination. I have received no reply yet.

[Correspondent] (?Are you calling on soldiers to join the defense forces of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina)?

[Mesic] I call on officers and soldiers not to carry out those orders which are not substantiated by decisions of the state Presidency in its capacity of Supreme Command, to refrain from attacking civilian targets and the authorities, and to be loyal to the authorities since this is the only demand they must meet.

[Correspondent] (?Have you consulted the other Presidency members)?

[Mesic] I have consulted the Presidency members through the secretary general to the effect that a Yugoslav Presidency session should be held today. Since I was not allowed to do so, due to the blockade of air and road traffic, this is the only way to convey my appeal and demand to all those in conflict.

[Correspondent] (?What of the fate of those who defected from the Army)?

[Mesic] It is the generals who are issuing the orders unsubstantiated by the Supreme Command who are deserters. I am calling on officers and soldiers and their commands to carry out what the Supreme Command has decided: to be loyal to the legal authorities. [passage omitted]

This is not just an appeal; this is implementation of the state Presidency's cease-fire decision. Everyone, both officers and soldiers, are duty-bound to carry out the state Presidency's decision. Therefore, everyone knows what his duty is, and he must carry it out today.

[Correspondent] (?Please comment on Markovic's attempt to make Kadijevic and Brovet resign).

[Mesic] Yes, all I can do is repeat what you said: That was just an attempt. Since this is obviously a military coup, it will remain just an attempt. Why? The generals will not do it.

[Correspondent] (?What will be your next move)?

[Mesic] The only option left for me is further internationalization and asking Europe and the world for help to stop this unnecessary, dirty, and senseless war.

[Correspondent] Are you expecting an attack on Bosnia-Hercegovina tonight?

[Mesic] It has already begun.

Kadijevic To 'Fully Rid' Army of Croatian Pressure

LD2109024791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2347 GMT 20 Sep

[Text] Belgrade, September 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army units have been brought into action in order to unblock its remaining garrisons in Croatia, Yugoslav national defence minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, said today in an interview with the British ITN TV net.

Since the agreement on the cease-fire in Croatia was signed, Croatia's armed forces have taken away by force thirty minor or major military facilities and Yugoslav Army barracks and Army garrisons have been left without food and water supply, and exposed to constant attacks, Gen. Kadijevic said.

Yesterday, he informed Lord Carrington that the Yugoslav Army's patience had been completely exhausted.

'We are going to get our units and men fully rid of pressure,' Gen. Kadijevic went on, voicing his hope that there would be no need to destroy towns in Croatia to have the Army units free.

'These men are in somebody's hands and can [as received] be left alone without a single bullet fired and without (?any tanks)', he said, adding that the simplest way for setting Army units free is that the Croatian side fully observes what it signed at Igalo.

Asked whether the Yugoslav Army is ready to send very large numbers of troops to set its men and units free, regardless of damage probably caused, Gen. Kadijevic said:

'Don't you see that men in the said garrisons and barracks are getting killed, that their family members are losing their lives? Don't you, sir, see any "damage" in this taking place?'

Gen. Kadijevic asked the journalist whether the Yugoslav Army should leave its regular units, much weaker in numbers than those Croatia has mobilized into its armed formations, without help and let them be totally destroyed in a matter of two or three days.

The Yugoslav Army's intention is not to impose any kind of social order on Yugoslavia, adding that the Army shall respect any political will if only it be carried out in a legal way and without bloodshed. The Army is not going to interfere in whether Yugoslavia should be a federation or anything else, Yugoslav Defence Minister Kadijevic said.

Mesic Stresses Necessity of Full Independence

LD2209232591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2158 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Stjepan Mesic stated today that Croatia had won a clear victory by its powerful resistance to an offensive by the YPA forces and Serbian insurgents. He expressed his firm belief that the latest cease-fire would hold and would lead to productive peace negotiations—AP has reported from Zagreb.

At a Zagreb news conference today, Mesic said that in light of all the victims and destruction, Croatia could no longer negotiate on the Army's return to barracks, but only about its departure from Croatian territory. According to AP, Mesic added that his republic would no longer accept a loose association of independent republics as a replacement for the existing Yugoslav federation. "After all that has happened here we must insist on full independence," Mesic said. Mesic admitted that Croatian forces also bore responsibility for previous cease-fire violations. "There is no doubt that part of the blame must lie with the Croatian side, but this is war," he said. The SFRY Presidency president also warned that escalation of the war conflict to Bosnia-Hercergovina would provoke "a war of inconceivable cruelty" and that, in comparison, "the fighting in Croatia would be a side-show."

Ministry Denies 'Secret Contacts' With Yazov

LD2009204391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Defence Ministry today accused Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and State Presidency President Stjepan Mesic of trying to "discredit and break" the Yugoslav Army (JNA) "with underhand dirty games and imputations."

The Ministry energetically denied statements by the two Yugoslav officials that the "Federal defence secretary has allegedly maintained secret contacts with Soviet former Defence Minister Dimitry Yazov."

Yugoslav Defence Minister Gen. Veljko Kadijevic met with Yazov on March 13 "as part of regular working meetings," the Defence Ministry stated.

The Ministry described as a flagrant insinuation the allegation that a "delivery of large quantities of arms for the JNA was agreed" on that occasion.

"Not one word was said about arms deliveries (at the meeting)," the announcement said, adding that no arms purchases were made "without the knowledge of competent state organs."

FEC Spokesman on Markovic's Firing Ministers

LD2109134391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—In the aftermath of the various explanations about the Federal Executive Council [FEC] session of 18 September this year, the following explanations are necessary to give the public true information. At this session, Ante Markovic suggested that Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, Federal secretary for national defense, and his deputy Stane Brovet, tender their resignations, or else he would propose their dismissal.

First, the FEC held a closed session, so the publication of one part of the minutes from this session amounts to a criminal act that requires action by the public prosecutor's office in the republic where that criminal act was committed.

Second, under the Yugoslav Constitution and Federal legislation, the FEC president has the autonomous right to propose a government reshuffle or to dismiss certain government members, something he did by addressing a letter on 20 September to Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic.

Also, although the law does not require him to do so—since a government reshuffle and dismissal of certain members are his autonomous right—Ante Markovic nevertheless did so on this occasion as he proceeded from his democratic attitudes that all issues regarding the government's work should be discussed in session in order that everyone may voice their opinion.

Third, the only purpose of Ante Markovic's proposal, presented at a closed session of the FEC, was that a solution be found to the present dramatic situation in Yugoslavia, proceeding from the preservation of the country's integrity, and in order to restore the Yugoslav People's Army's [YPA] Yugoslav and people's character. Ante Markovic once again proposed to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense—even within the framework of the existing leadership cadre—that it make its own suggestions as to how the Army could get out of the imposed conflict, and how its transformation into a single-entity army could be halted.

He proposed that they should meet that very evening, if they wanted to. He inquired about their ideas, how the Army could restore its Yugoslav character, as well as the support and trust throughout Yugoslavia, without which its character could not be Yugoslav. During the two subsequent sessions of the FEC, Ante Markovic asked and expected the Federal secretary and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense to voice these proposals, but this did not happen. Therefore, cadre changes, being the only solution, imposed themselves.

Fourth, the president of the Federal Government at FEC sessions publicly proposes platforms for talks prior to every foreign trip he takes. This is followed by a debate and a report is adopted on his return. The Federal secretary for national defense failed to do so when he decided to visit the USSR Army General [Yazov] on 13 March 1991, immediately after the "demonstrations on 9 March" in Belgrade and the launching of tanks onto the streets.

Fifth, it is incorrectly claimed that Ante Markovic stated that a 5-year arms delivery to Yugoslavia was agreed upon on the occasion of the Kadijevic-Yazov meeting. The delivery was agreed upon, but it happened on a different occasion, and Markovic, in his capacity as prime minister, knew nothing about it until the Soviet officials he met during his last visit to Moscow warned him about it.

Sixth, orchestrated attacks in the information media—both by unitarists and secessionists—on Markovic's final attempt to preserve Yugoslavia are neither surprising nor unexpected. However, neither these attacks nor physical threats will have any effect on Ante Markovic's endurance on the road to reforms, democracy, and the agreement on the coexistence of all Yugoslav nations, instead of collective death which has been imposed on them," the FEC spokesman concludes in his statement.

Italian Foreign Minister Telephones Loncar

LD2109173391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 21 (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis today telephoned Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar to express a growing concern because of continued clashes in Yugoslavia, as has been announced by the Yugoslav prime minister's Cabinet.

De Michelis was interested in the current situation in Yugoslavia and informed Markovic of his intensive consultations with European Community (E.C.) countries, in order to influence the most important factors in Yugoslavia to end enmities.

De Michelis reiterated Italy's stand that the borders could not be changed by force, and that unilateral acts of seccesion led to an increase of clashes.

Markovic informed De Michelis of the efforts being made for the signatories of the Igalo agreement to meet and agree on the modalities for a ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Markovic proposed that President of the peace conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington visit Yugoslavia once more and as soon as possible, in order to exert influence on the Igalo agreement signatories to meet immediately, and with his help negotiate an effective ceasefire.

Markovic also requested that the E.C. step up efforts aimed at resolving the Yugoslav crisis, and with this in mind asked that the troika be re-activated at the level of foreign ministers, and if necessary, at the prime ministerial level.

Markovic and De Michelis have agreed to stay in close contact in order to undertake all possible measures to achieve a ceasefire, as set out in the statement by the Yugoslav prime minister's Cabinet.

Markovic Wants 'Staff Change' at Defense Ministry

LD2109165591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1520 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—A spokesman of the Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic today said that a 'staff change' in the Defence Ministry has 'imposed itself as the only solution', since the ministry on three occasions failed to propose ways for 'the Army to restore its Yugoslav character and regain the support and confidence of everyone in Yugoslavia.'

According to a written statement of spokesman Predrag Tasic, Markovic requested this of the Defence Ministry at three of the latest cabinet sessions.

According to the local press, Markovic at a government session held on September 18 requested the resignations of Defence Minister Army General Veljko Kadijevic and his deputy Admiral Stane Brovet.

Tasic's statement cites that Markovic proposed to the defence ministry to staff', for the army to pull out of the 'conflict imposed on it' and 'stop its transformation into a single-nationality Army'.

The defence minister is accused in the statement of not speaking with colleagues in the government about the platfrom for talks which he had with Soviet Army General Dimitriy Yazov on March 13, 'immediately following the March ninth demonstrations in Belgrade and the coming out of tanks on the streets'.

The statement also sets out that Markovic, as the prime minister, found out from his Soviet hosts during his latest visit to Moscow about the contracting of five-year weapons deliveries to Yugoslavia from the Soviet Union.

Assessing as not surprising or unexepcted the 'orchestrated' attacks in the news media—by unitarianists and secessionists alike—after the latest attempt by Markovic to preserve Yugoslavia, the statement sets out that neither these attacks 'or physical threats' can prevent Markovic from 'persisting to the end on his road of reforms, democracy and achieving an agreement on joint life of all Yugoslav peoples, rather than a joint death imposed on them.'

Prime Minister's Right to Remove Ministers Restricted

LD2009140291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1338 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav prime minister may not arbitrarily relieve of duty any member of Government, a spokesman for the Secretariat of the Federal Chamber, one of the Federal Assembly's two chambers, told TANJUG today.

There is no justification for such a move in any legal document in Yugoslavia, not even in an emergency situation, the spokesman said.

The explanation was given in connection with reports that Prime Minister Ante Markovic had asked at a Government session on Wednesday night that the federal defence minister—General Veljko Kadijevic—and his deputy—Admiral Stane Brovet—resign.

The spokesman said that under the Federal Constitution the prime minister in his capacity as mandatary may only make a recommendation to the bicameral parliament to relieve of duty actual federal government members and elect new ones.

It is entirely up to the Assembly to decide whether or not such a recommendation will be upheld, the spokesman said.

Armed Forces Under Defense Secretariat Orders

LD2109132891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1308 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—The deputy federal defence secretary, Admiral Stane Brovet, says that it is not up to the Federal Government to issue orders for the engagement of the armed forces. According to Admiral Brovet, the only body competent to issue such orders is the staff of the Supreme Command or the Supreme Command itself.

The Government Information Secretariat said today that Admiral Brovet had made the statement at a government session yesterday.

Speaking about the character of the movement of Yugoslav Army units, Admiral Brovet said that, in the circumstances when the Presidency of Yugoslavia—which is the supreme commander of the country's armed forces—is not functioning, the Federal Secretariat for National Defence, as the staff of the Supreme Command, has decided to order the movement of the units to liberate the blockaded garrisons in Croatia, the Government Secretariat added.

The Secretariat's statement is also a reply to numerous questions asked by Yugoslav and foreign reporters in connection with the engagement of the Armed Forces.

It said that, just as in the case of Slovenia, the Federal Government has no authority to order the engagement of the Armed Forces and that it neither made such a decision nor was it consulted in the matter.

The Federal Government learned about the movement of the Army towards Croatia from TANJUG, and not from the officials of the Federal Defence Secretariat who were attending the government's session at the time, the Government Information Secretariat concluded.

'Tripartite' Proposal Seen as Basis for Future

LD2009210591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1926 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 20 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia today gave TANJUG a document entitled "the proposal of foundations for the organization of relations in Yugoslavia," as a result of the meeting of top officials of three Yugoslav republics—Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The proposal, drawn up after a meeting last Monday, also called the "Belgrade initiative," sets out the position and relations among nations and republics and the common functions of the future of Yugoslav community.

Under the proposal, Yugoslavia is a common state of equal nations, republics and citizens, which is the main basis of all other orientations for the country's future order.

This is also a point about which there are differences, since other Yugoslav republics, like Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia, insist on sovereignty of republics, not only "equality."

The stand of Bosnia-Herzegovina is also unclear, since it urges the formulation "sovereign," although it has not yet proclaimed it.

The representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina who attended the Belgrade meeting agreed on all points with the representatives of Serbia and Montenegro, but their native republic contests their competence to give approval.

The meeting in Belgrade was attended by the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, as well as the parliament presidents of the two republics.

Bosnia-Herzegovina was represented by republican presidency members Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic, as well as the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament. Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic, who opposes the platform of the "Belgrade initiative," did not attend the meeting.

The document, made public by the Serbian parliament today, points out that Yugoslavia, from the aspect of international law, is the legal inheritor of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and a subject of international law.

The borders of Yugoslavia are unviolable, while internal borders among republics can be changed only with their approval, on the basis of the will of the people living in them, the document says, adding that the army should be a joint institution.

Economist Pessimistic on Future Prospects

LD2209121991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1025 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 22 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy Dagmar Suster today said that the future of the Yugoslav economy lay in setting up a Yugoslav economic community.

In an interview given to TANJUG, Suster said that such a community would be useful, regardless of the political outcome of the current Yugoslav crisis, i.e. regardless of how many states—"six, five, four, three or two"—should comprise Yugoslavia.

It is Suster's belief that the Yugoslav economic space can have long life if the minimum conditions are created for the functioning of the laws of capital and economic interests, as against ethnic and political interests.

Suster's forecasts for the near future are, however, less optimistic. He believes that Yugoslavia is heading for an upsurge of inflation, a further drop in production and export and greater difficulties as a result of extremely restricted imports.

Suster bases his forecasts on the fact that the Yugoslav economy's losses in 1990 and the first six months of the current year amounted to 154.2 billion dinars (roughly 7 billion dollars) and on fears that the losses sustained in the first half of the year will be more than doubled in the second.

Suster quoted that production in Yugoslavia had dropped by more than 25 percent over the past two years and estimated that this year it would come to barely 75 percent of what it was in 1989.

He described the conditions as "worse than those caused by an elemental disaster" and put the blame for this situation on the republic-states which had "been tirelessly adopting measures which have been ruining Yugoslavia's single economic space" and on the federal government which had failed to prevent it.

International

Britain Warns Citizens To Leave Croatia

AB2209174691 London BBC World Service in English 1658 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] And now we have a message from the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office for British nationals in Yugoslavia: British nationals in Croatia are advised to leave as soon as possible. They should inform the British Consulate in Zagreb of their departure on 041-153-987. Those living in Split and Dubrovnik should make preparations for a speedy departure, including having an adequate supply of petrol, but do not attempt to leave the area. Please await further notice. Please contact your British Consulate. For Split, the number is 058-45853; for Dubrovnik, the number is [number indistinct].

European Parliament Leader Asks Mesic to Brussels

LD2209201491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1427 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Brussels, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—President of the European parliament Enrique Baron Crespo has invited Yugoslav State Presidency President Stipe Mesic for a meeting in Brussels on September 25. According to Baron Crespo, this would be an opportunity to continue the dialogue which the European parliament started with the presidents of the Federal and republican assemblies.

According to a statement released by the press office of the European deputy chamber, in his letter sent to Mesic Baron Crespo expresses extreme concern over the violations of the ceasefire and points out how everything should be done in order to "put out the fire which has broken out in Yugoslavia and threatens to spread to its neighbors."

U.S. Reaction to Mobilization Reported

AU2109115791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] The United States has officially expressed its deep concern because of indications that the Yugoslav Army is preparing broad scale intervention against Croatia. The statement by the United States State Department says that the present mobilization and the dispatch of additional armed forces against Croatia is a flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the cease-fire agreement that was signed this week by the presidents of Serbia and Croatia and the federal national defense secretary.

Slovene Foreign Minister Comments on Hague

LD2009125391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1028 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Sept 20 (TANJUG)—The Hague conference on Yugoslavia is suspended until an efficient agreement has been reached on a ceasefire in Croatia, Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel has stated after returning from the Dutch capital.

Rupel said Slovenia and Croata urged this position at the second plenary session in The Hague yesterday because 'violations of the Igalo agreement continue'.

He went on to say that 'Europe does not have adequate mechanisms, that is, it is not ready to use them. The aggressor knows it and that is why it does not sign agreements. The army staged a coup... and it does not respect the federal presidency and the federal government'.

In the Montenegrin Adriatic resort of Igalo last Tuesday, the presidents of Yugoslavia's two biggest republics of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, and the federal defence minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, signed a ceasefire agreement in the presence of the chairman of the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, British diplomat Lord Carrington. The agreement was to come into effect at noon on Wednesday.

Speaking about the work of the two commissions of the peace conference, Rupel said that for Slovenia, the document on the human rights and minorities could be acceptable, while a report of the commission which dealt with the future relations in Yugoslavia was not acceptable, except for the idea to hold a 'mini CSCE summit on Yugoslavia'.

He said that Slovenia would perhaps be prepared to cooperate in the field of ecology. It is also interested in economic cooperation in accordance with its own interests, but as an independent state and an internationally recognized subject, concluded Rupel.

Croatia's Separovic Urges European Intervention

AU2109071291 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0500 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Martin Konrad report from Graz]

[Text] During a stopover in Graz yesterday [20 September], Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic said that Croatia is in a very, very difficult situation. The foreign minister had come from the EC meeting in The Hague on Yugoslavia. He assesses the EC peace efforts as insufficient.

He says that Europe simply cannot let us down only because we do not have oil. The Croatian foreign minister desperately appealed to the West not leave his country alone. His hopes for the EC's peace efforts were not fulfilled in The Hague. On the contrary. The situation has even deteriorated. Separovic criticizes the EC for doing too little too late. Help must be given now, and not when all of Croatia is destroyed, stresses Separovic.

[Begin Separovic recording in German] Europe and the world must come to us. They must see what is going on. They must know that this is a real war. They must know that the Serbians in Croatia intend to implement their dream of a greater Serbia. Europe must not keep silent. What is at stake is not just Croatia, but peace in Europe and the world. [end recording]

Separovic now stakes his hopes on the proposal submitted by several sides to bring the Yugoslav crisis before the UN Security Council. In addition, he calls upon the West, specifically Austria, to recognize Croatia.

[Begin Separovic recording] We understand Austria. It is not easy for Austria. People say that it must remain neutral. However, it should not be neutral regarding its neighboring countries. [end recording]

Asked whether peace-keeping forces could achieve something, and whether Croatia would want to have such forces on its territory, Separovic says:

[Begin Separovic recording] We are in favor of international intervention—interference, so to speak—and the presence of international units. [end recording]

Regarding the peace-keeping forces, Separovic is aware that foreign troops do have problems in a foreign region. That has also become clear in Beirut where the Western peace-keeping forces have hardly been able to achieve anything. However, for the time being, Separovic and his Croatian compatriots are left alone.

[Begin Separovic recording] We will fight to the last man. We are fighting for an important moral principle, we are defending our own country, we are fighting for the people's right of self-determination. We also expressed this in a referendum. We only want to achieve one thing—we want to be independent and sovereign on our own territory, in our own republic. [end recording]

UN Observers' Comments Prior to Debate Reported

LD2209191591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1804 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] New York, September 22 (TANJUG)—The five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council seem to have coordinated their stands on the Yugoslav crisis and the U.N. Security Council is likely to meet tomorrow and open a debate on the developments in Yugoslavia and their consequences on global security and international peace, as sources in the French mission to the United Nations said today.

The head of the French mission, who is also the chairman of the Council this month, Ambassador Jean Bernard Merimee had separate meetings on Saturday

with the representatives of the other four permanent Security Council members—the ambassadors of Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and China.

However, analysts here do not agree about the possible effects of the debate on Yugoslavia. Most believe that radical measures, such as sending peace-keeping forces or implementing economic sanctions against those who provoked the Yugoslav conflict, would not be adopted since the Security Council cannot play the role of qualified arbiter in one country's drama, which has already had devastating consequences.

Observers say that the Security Council could warn all sides in Yugoslavia to accept the ceasefire and start negotiations, including the continuation of the European Community mediation mission.

There is no doubt that further favourable developments in Yugoslavia could contribute to the Security Council's efforts if both sides abide by the latest ceasefire agreement. However, since there had been many similar attempts, it is believed that this is highly unlikely.

Daily Says Romanian Plane Unloaded Weapons

LD2109141291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1349 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 21 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI today writes that a Romanian plane, full of weapons, landed on Ljubljana airport on August 31. The weapons, according to the daily, was then 'immediately and secretly' transported to Croatian territory.

According to the daily, the Information Secretariat of the Yugoslav Air Force confirmed that the news about the landing is correct but with the restriction that 'they are not familiar with any details.'

The daily estimates that the plane passed unobserved because the Yugoslav Air Force was preoccupied that day with the forced landing of two air planes on Zagreb's 'Pleso' Airport—a Ugandan plane which was full of weapons and a Romanian one full of pilots [as received].

The Romanian plane with weapons had presented itself just as the one carrying pilots which was 'captured', and this is the reason it passed unobserved, according to VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

The daily recalls that Slovenian territory is not covered by military radars as this Yugoslav republic demanded their removal, but also wonders how it was possible that the radars in neighboring republics did not 'notice' their landing on Ljubljana's 'Brnik' Airport.

Slovenia

Kucan Assails 'Mad Expansionist Serbian Policy'

LD2209145191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1349 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Maribor, Sept 22 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan today said that "peace in Europe is now being decided" in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, cautioning the international community that "this should be realized before it is too late."

"The mad expansionist Serbian policy and the Army which is serving it will not stop in Croatia. Sooner or later it will be on European borders," Kucan assessed at a celebration in Lovrenac on Mount Pohorje, marking the 900th anniversary of the town.

According to Kucan, peace in Croatia can only be restored with the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of Croatia. Kucan said this is a condition for true talks to begin between Serbs in Croatia and Croatian authorities about their position in this republic.

The Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia on June 25 this year adopted decisions to secede. A three-month moratorium on the decisions was achieved through the mediation of the European Community which expires October 7.

Croatia

Authorities Lift Split Sea Route Blockades

LD2209165691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] The Split Port Authority announced the lifting of the blockade of sea routes in the Split area. All parties concerned, especially Jadrolinija—whose ferries are a link between the islands and the coast—have been informed about the lifting of the naval blockade. As reported, the first to leave will be the Vladimir Nazor ferry, from Supetar to Split.

Kadijevic Responds to Tudjman Offer To Lift Blockade

LD2109113991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0958 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 September (TANJUG)—The Information Service of the Federal Secretary for National Defense is authorized to announce the following:

On 20 September at 2215 the president of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, faxed a letter to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. [passage omitted]

In response to this message, impregnated with the extreme cynicism that bears witness in itself to the unwillingness of the Croatian leadership to honor the cease-fire declaration signed in Igalo, stop attacking army units, and completely lift the blockade of all facilities of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA], the Federal Secretary for National Defense has faxed the following letter to Franjo Tudjman:

"To: President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman

"In reference to your message, which I received on 20 September at 2340, I want to point out the fact that your failure to observe the cease-fire declaration of 17 September 1991 was not the first case of your treacherous conduct regarding the obligations you assumed by your signature.

"In Igalo a cease-fire was agreed on. This cease-fire agreement, according to the interpretation Lord Carrington unambigously expounded in the presence of the three signatories of the declaration—implies the lifting of the blockade of Army units and facilities. Your proposal that the deadline of implementation be 1200 on 18 September was accepted, while I suggested implementing it even sooner.

"You were automatically responding by saying you would try to meet the obligations you had assumed. You never said you would carry them out.

"In the meantime, instead of implementing the declaration, your armed formations are continuing to launch attacks in an unprecedented manner on YPA facilities and maintain the blockade. Since the cease-fire came into effect at 1200, they have captured 32 military facilities. These facilities were not attacking you, because they are immobile, with no combat role. The members of the EC observer mission can testify to this. In the process, 12 YPA members have been killed, while 19 have been wounded. The evacuation of the dead and the treatment of the wounded is being obstructed, while the families of military personnel are being dislodged from their apartments.

"In my third attempt to bring about a cease-fire and peace, I warned you that your schemes had come to an end.

"I am always willing to negotiate, provided you first meet the obligations stemming from the cease-fire declaration as well as everything else that is implied by Lord Carrington's explanation. Once you have done so, we can negotiate on everything that is covered by the signed declaration."

Tudjman Visits Croatian Forces Near Novska

LD2009192291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 20 (TANJUG)—The president of the Yugoslav republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, visited the 'frontline' of the Croatian defence forces in the village Rajic near the town of Novska today, as announced here.

Tudjman, accompanied by Croatia's new Defence Minister Gojko Susak and Deputy Interior Minister Slavko Degoricija, left Novska after an air raid alarm, as announced.

Tudjman, president of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Defence Minister Gen. Veljko Kadijevic signed an agreement on a ceasefire in Croatia in Igalo last Tuesday, through the mediation of chairman of The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington.

Three air raid sirens sounded in Croatia's capital of Zagreb this morning. Air raid alarms are given frequently in the city, although the Yugoslav Air Force on several occasions announced it would not attack civilian targets or settlements in Croatia.

The streets of Zagreb are empty, with occasional pedestrians and cars passing by, TANJUG reported. So-called hedgehogs have been placed at all important intersections in the city, TANJUG said.

All movement is controlled, especially at night.

A black-out order takes effect in Zagreb every night, and those who do not comply are severely fined. Lights are not allowed in shop windows, street lamps or car headlights.

There are no major shortages in the city. Flashlights are in demand, but are difficult to obtain.

Tudjman on Factions Rejecting Peaceful Solutions

LD2209205791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2050 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 22 (TANJUG)—The president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, speaking on violations of the ceasefire agreement in Croatia, tonight said that "all those who are against a peaceful solution will have to adjust themselves to the decision of the majority".

Warning that there were provocateurs from both sides, Tudjman said that "there are people (on the Croatian side) who cannot understand that it is better for Croatia to achieve its independence and sovereignty peacefully, with fewer casualties".

He said that the ceasefire was a victory of the Croatian authorities' policies. We want to settle the problem peacefully, but we will not give in and abandon our goals to achieve Croatia's sovereignty, he said.

The ceasefire "will be the beginning of a democratic solution of the crisis", Tudjman said.

Asked about the fact that the Army leadership finally accepted the initiative for ceasefire, Tudjman said that

this was influenced both by Croatia's determination to defend itself and its successes, which were evident in the defence of the Slavonian town of Vukovar.

It is important that we succeeded in defending Croatia from "a greater Serbian aggression, while Vukovar has become the symbol of Croatia's defence", Tudjman said.

Croation President on Cease-Fire Decision

LD2209214891 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by unidentified correspondent in Zagreb on 22 September—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. President, the reason for this conversation is today's agreement on the mutual, simultaneous suspension of all offensive actions and movements between Army forces and those of Croatia. In fact, the situation has dramatically, in some way, both changed and deteriorated in the last 48 hours. Everyone certainly will be interested in hearing from you so that you can explain to us what has been happening over these past 48 hours.

[Tudjman] Yes, we have experienced dramatic moments over the past 48 hours. World news agencies are reporting tank columns passing through Belgrade and Serbia into Croatia. There has also been clear news from the country about the arrival of large columns of volunteers and mobilized reserves from Serbia and Montenegro through Bosnia. Reports have also come in about how the Army is preparing a blow against Croatian towns, against Zagreb, Karlovac, Varazdin, Split, Sibenik, and so on.

Certain well-informed high-ranking officers of the Yugoslav Army have removed their families. I did not receive a reply to my proposal on ceasing hostilities. Yesterday, everything was charateristic of entry into a general war; however, we continued with our initiative.

On one hand, there has been resolute defense in all sectors where fighting has taken place, as well as offensive actions and negotiations on taking over Yugoslav Army garrisons. There have also been very influential diplomatic actions both in relation to us in Croatia and me, personally, and I think in relation to the Army leadership in Belgrade, something that suddenly led to the response by General Kadijevic. This was instead of the general offensive and general war against Croatia that Belgrade television announced and that was also carried by other television networks in the evening. During the night, he sent a fax saying that he accepts the proposal about an absolute cease-fire.

[Correspondent] How do you interpret this change in the Army's stand?

[Tudjman] I interpret it precisely the way I said: On one hand, the resolution of Croatia to confront such extensive aggression and the successes that we have had-...[changes thought] Ultimately, the fact that, even with their significantly larger forces they were unable to break the defense of Vukovar and occupy Vukovar, which was to have been the capital of Eastern Slavonija and Baranja, and the fact that, peacefully, without a shot being fired, we took over a corps, an armored corps, in Varazdin, with all its mechanized and tank forces, and the influence of world statesmen, who have expressly spoken in favour of the war being brought to an end. [sentence as heard] I think that, all in all, this had an impact on Gen. Kadijevic, contrary to what was put out on the television, so that he accepted the proposal on the cease-fire and the truce.

The cease-fire itself for us means the victory of our policy, a policy that we implemented. We want a peaceful solution, but we will not give up our goals to achieve a sovereign Croatia. It is a policy that was designed to reduce casualties, and, as you know, it is not only a matter of reducing human casualties but also a matter of preventing the further devastation of Croatian towns. After Vukovar and Osijek, now the turn of Dalmatian towns has come, those of Sibenik, and so on.

Another thing that perhaps has been forgotten is that there was a total blockade of all ports and of all towns in Dalmatia and along the coast, from Dubrovnik to Rijeka, Pula, and so on, something that prevented not only international traffic but also communications with our coastal Dalmatian villages, something that prevented even normal supplies from getting through and prevented normal life, even the medical care of our people.

Apart from this, the war operations also prevented—even in the Croatian interior, in all battle areas—normal life. We had an interest in achieving a cease-fire because this was proof that our opponent could not break us militarily and that it was forced to negotiate with us.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, how do you see the possible further development of events in light of the fact that we today heard news that individual commanders—in concrete terms, Lieutentant-Colonel-General Nikola Uzelac of the Banja Luka Corps—are saying that operations should be continued regardless of the decision of their commander in chief.

[Tudjman] [passage omitted] It is quite certain that there will be those among the Army leaders who will not accept such a peace. I must say here that, in our ranks, too, there are people who cannot accept that it is better for us in Croatia to achieve our independence and our sovereignty peacefully, with as few casualties as possible, with as few devastated towns as possible, and there are even, it seems to me, provocateurs on both sides who would want at all costs...[changes thought] and who would want to provoke even a political crisis at anyone's expense. Such stat .ments, as you have mentioned, appear on our

side, too. It is a matter, on one hand, either of a failure to understand or even of, as I have said, provocateurs in the service of a policy that is not in the interests of Croatia, democracy, or the Croatian republic as a whole.

[Correspondent] The Yugoslav problem—that is, the war in Croatia—will most probably be put on the agenda of the UN Security Council session next week. Obviously, the U.S. attitude is changing considerably. We know what the situation is like in Europe regarding the recognition of Croatia. What do you expect from the Security Council's discussion of this problem?

[Tudjman] You see, because you mention it, it is worth admitting—and even stressing—that, because the Council of Europe, by a majority of votes, proposed to the European governments to recognize Croatia and Slovenia and to put the problem of the Yugoslav crisis and the war in Croatia on the agenda of a UN Security Council session, it also probably influenced the achievement of a cease-fire and, hence, the negotiations on the peaceful solution.

However, regardless of the international factors, the European, the world, and, of course, the United States—which plays an important role as a world power—nevertheless, what is going on in our country is important. Nevertheless, it is important that we managed to defend Croatia from that Serbian aggression, the Yugoslav Army aggression. Nevertheless, the contribution that our fighters—who defended Croatia from Vukovar to Gospic, from Sibenik to Varazdin—made is important....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Because not a single one of the Army's strategic goals was achieved in Croatia.

[Tudjman] Precisely. It means that our Vukovar became a symbol of Croatian defense. It is demolished; it is, in a way, our present-day Szeged or—an example from World War II—our Stalingrad. However, it is also a symbol of the Croatian people's resolve to defend itself even at the price of heavy casualties, and I would say that, even when the war ends, the symbol of Vukovar will be very significant as an example of how an unarmed people can resist such a mighty power.

Obviously, we did everything for that small group of our fighters commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Mile Derakovic and Colonel Rosa, who organized a defense of its kind, how it managed successfully to resist that torture by tanks and other Army equipment. We did everything and thus opposed those who said that we had forgotten Slavonija, that even before we captured, over the past few days, dumps to supply those fighters with as many weapons as we had before in scant quantities, and recently in large quantities...[sentence as heard] Therefore, all of Croatia did not merely stand behind Vukovar but in Vukovar itself. I spoke with your correspondent and people from Zagreb today and found that people from everywhere in Croatia were in Vukovar. All of Croatia fought in Vukovar.

It would also be good to mention that the front in Eastern Slavonija was linked to all other fronts. We should mention our guards brigade commanders there, who led operations successfully even when it seemed we were losing the war. However, those men—Colonels Bozo Budimir, Miroslav Jerzecic, [name indistinct), Franjo Pejic—all others who fought on those battlefields and all those who worked anonymously here in the main headquarters, in the Defense Ministry—the names of whom we did not make public for numerous reasons—on one hand, because it included people who were sought by the Federal and military police...[sentence as heard] Col. Gen. Spegelj started our defense and was, unfortunately, as said in military jargon, put out of action too early. However, there were other people who worked there and who are meritorious.

When we now can say that we have achieved very big war successes, which contributed to the cease-fire, I think it is necessary to mention their names: They are Colonels Agotic, Tonkovic, Feudi, Lebeda, Skarec, Pecotic; Captain Domozet, Magic, and so on. Within that framework, I can mention Lt. Col. Srcek, Bosnjakovic, Herceg, Sime Cicin, and so on, a multitude of people. I hope that those I failed to mention will forgive me. They all, with self-sacrifice, worked here day and night, while some politicians wondered whether the defense was properly organized. We organized our defense, our equipment, and so on under impossible conditions. I recently appointed General Antun Tus chief of staff of the main headquarters and General Stipetic and Colonel Ante Zorislav-Rost assistants to the chief of staff of the main headquarters. We have people who have come up through the Croatian ranks, people who have experienced world battlefields, and even those who obtained their ranks in the French Army and abroad and who put themselves at the service of their homeland, Croatia. We have not made their names public for these reasons. There are people who came from the Yugoslav Army. There are people who were trained in the guard corps, like Josip Lucic.

As you can see, these military victories are a result of our overall policies pursued by the government of Josip Manolic, who later became crisis headquarters head, as well as the government of democratic unity headed by Greguric. In other words, all military and political successes that led to this cease-fire—which I believe will be the beginning, despite all the difficulties and reluctance, will be the beginning of a democratic denouement—have resulted from a consistent and resolute policy, a policy that, on the one hand, was the policy of peace and peaceful solution and, on the other, the policy of determination for building our own defense forces and, if necessary, to win our independence with weapons and with international support but also without it—that is, if the world fails us, as to a large extent it has so far, but at the same time it has been of great benefit.

I must mention that last night and the night before I talked to a number of world leaders and received an

encouraging message from the Holy See, which was not needed because we have always been for a peaceful solution.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have already spelled out your message to the Croatian citizens. Is there anything else you wish to stress in conclusion?

[Tudjman] Let us all accept this as confirmation of the correctness of our path, as proof that the Croatian nation and all other citizens who consider Croatia their homeland, that have shown themselves to be determined in defending their democracy, their freedom—let them be pleased with what we have achieved so far, and let them not think that this is some kind of compromise and that we have gone only halfway. We have not stopped but want to prevent further casualties. We wish to complete our path to full freedom and sovereignty, and then to invest all our efforts in rebuilding our destroyed homeland.

[Correspondent] Of course, if the other side fails to observe the agreement, then Croatia is ready?

[Tudjman] Understandably, if there is again aggression, Croatia will have its mechanized tank brigades and corps ready, but, up to now, we have nothing. Today, we have an armed force and even military experts who are prepared to help. Any future aggression will have to be organized outside Croatia, in Serbia, and, in that case, Serbia and the remnants of that Yugoslav Army, if they fail to accept the cease-fire, would have against them not just Croatia but also, as you have seen, Bosnia-Hercegovina. These columns from Serbia and Montenegro have been stopped in the Neretva Valley from Mostar to Capljina. In other words, Croatians from Hercegovina have risen to defend both themselves and Croatia. So, if someone does not observe peace, he will find himself in a much more difficult position than today.

[Correspondent] Both at home and abroad?

[Tudjman] Absolutely. In other words, this is what gives us the right—with what we have achieved so far, with our policy, in general, and our defense policy—to be satisfied and to build while at the same time removing all regulations and shortcomings inevitable in a war situation. Today we have our Croatian army. We are no longer talking about the forces of the Internal Affairs Ministry and the National Guard. The corps was a transitory step toward our Croatian army. So, Croatia is here, and I think that, after this UN session and after all we have been through, it will be recognized very quickly in international life.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, on behalf of Croatian Radio and Television listeners and audience, I thank you.

[Tudjman] Thank you. Allow me to send special thanks and greetings to all fighters on all battlefields from Vukovar and Baranja, to Lika and Dalmatia—and even, as you see, there had to be fighting for this Croatia in Zagorje. Today, too, in other words, we have been exposed to deaths by war. I believe that perhaps most of these fighters will spend their first night of peaceful sleep; and I wish them peaceful sleep. They deserve it.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Tudjman Appoints Rijeka Defense Commander

LD2209113991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] By order of Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, Lieutenant Colonel Anton Franjo Racki was appointed military commander of the defense command of Rijeka, the coastal area and hinterland. Lieutenant Colonel Racki, born in 1947, recently deserted from the Yugoslav Army ranks and joined the Croatian defense. Up to 9 September, he was the commander of the military garrison in Delnice.

Council Appoints New Armed Forces Chief of Staff

LD2209200491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Radio Croatia reported this evening that Colonel General Antun Tus was appointed chief of staff of the main headquarters of the Croatian Armed Forces.

A statement from the Supreme State Council session, presided over by Franjo Tudjman, says: "The Council endorsed the appointment of Tus as the chief of staff and of Major General Petar Stipetic and Colonel Ante Zoricslav-Rost as assistants chief of staff of the main headquarters.

The Supreme State Council, as reported by Radio Croatia, fully supported a cease-fire agreement and stressed: "The true cease-fire will create conditions to end political talks and accelerate the process of dissociation of the Republic of Croatia." "Therefore, all members of the Croatian Armed Forces and all citizens are called on to abide by the agreement consistently and with discipline," the statement says.

Troops Shoot Down Eight 'Enemy Aircraft'

LD2009201391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Zoltan Kabok]

[Excerpt] In terms of the scale of fighting, today was the fiercest of the past five days of enemy aggression against Sibenik, particularly Vodice village, in the western part of the municipality. The occupiers fired all day at Sibenik from all available artillery and light weapons. The mortar attack on the Vodice area lasted, with brief lulls, a full 10 hours, during which more than about 100

82mm and 120mm shells were fired on this area. Unfortunately, we have (?learned) that there have been casualties. Aircraft of the occupying army several times overflew, machine- gunned, and bombed the Sibenik area during the day, and they will [word indistinct] remember today well: Croatian soldiers shot down eight enemy aircraft. [passage omitted]

Solta Barracks Surrenders to Croatian Police

LD2009145491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] As of this morning, another Army installation is in the hands of the Croatian police forces—the Bela Straza Barracks on the island of Solta, opposite Split. The barracks were handed over without any incidents, after negotiations. An antiaircraft battery was housed on the premises.

Croatians Seize Last Army Depot in Osijek

LD2009144791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The Army depot in the Forest of Lug, the last Army installation on Osijek territory, is in Croatian hands. The Croatian defense [force] has thus obtained fresh arms supplies. [passage omitted]

Susak Says Chemical Weapons Used at Sibenik

LD2109170891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Excerpt] A few minutes ago a news conference ended whose main guest was [Croatian] Defense Minister Gojko Susak. He stated that the Government of the Republic of Croatia has sent a letter to Federal Defense Minister General Kadijevic, stressing that Croatia is ready to lift the blockade of the barracks and to provide water and electricity to the barracks if units of the Yugoslav Army withdraw to their barracks.

One of the questions was whether the enemy has chemical weapons, and whether it has used them. Yes, said Minister Susak, it has them and has used them in Sibenik, but we have still not completely established this. [passage omitted]

SFRY: Croatian Crisis Center Issues Order on Supplies

LD2209165191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] On the basis of today's order issued by Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, which came into effect at 1500 today, the crisis headquarters of the government of the Republic of Croatia passed the following decision, which was submitted to the crisis headquarters of the city of Zagreb, the municipal crisis headquarters, and all local government officials of the Republic of Croatia. It reads:

First, to extend water, food, electricity and medical supplies to all barracks under the Yugoslav People's Army armed forces control on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Second, this decision only refers to supplies to the regular forces of the SFRY Armed Forces, and the level of supplies should be sufficient for daily consumption of privates and officers within the regular forces, that is, of barracks and establishments, for as long as the forces are inside these establishments.

Third, the supply needs with respect to item two of this decision, as well as its technical implementation, will be determined by the crisis headquarters of these municipalities, that is, the city of Zagreb and the command of barracks, that is, [word indistinct].

Sarajevo Reports Attack on Knin

AU2109083991 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] For the second time in three days, Knin was attacked at 0450 this morning. About 20 mortar grenades were fired at the town from the direction of the [words indistinct] barracks and (?mostly probably) the [name indistinct] military training ground [words indistinct]. There are no figures at the moment on possible damage and casualties.

Retired General Named New Armed Forces Chief

LD2209215991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2007 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 22 (TANJUG)—Croatian radio tonight said that today's session of the Supreme State Council of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, chaired by President Franjo Tudjman, supported the entire text of the ceasefire agreement.

The agreement, which took effect at 3 p.m. local time, was agreed during the day by the Croatian president and Yugoslav Defence Minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic.

Croatian radio reported a statement issued after today's session which said that the Supreme State Council pointed out that the "true establishment of truce will create conditions for ending political negotiations and speeding up the process of Croatia's dissociation (from Yugoslavia)".

Croatian radio also cited a part of the statement which called on "all members of the Armed Forces of Croatia and all citizens to consistently and obediently abide by the agreement" on ceasefire.

Croatian radio tonight reported that retired Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Air Force General Antun Tus was appointed chief of general staff of the Croatian Armed Forces.

General Tus recently went into retirement from the post of commander of the Yugoslav Air Force and Air Defence.

The statement issued after the session of the Croatian Supreme State Council said that the body "took note of" his appointment.

Serbia

TV Comments on U.S. Position on Crisis

AU2109214691 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Ratko Dimitrovic commentary]

[Text] The latest announcement by the U.S. Government concerning the Yugoslav crisis that you have just heard makes one conclude that the U.S. Administration either does not know about its own, not so distant history or it is siding with a group of European and world politicians whose intentions, at least concerning Yugoslavia, cannot be deemed honest. With the stand that the latest movements by the Yugoslav People's Army—whose aim is to free its own personnel and technical devices and to do so in its own country—represents a flagrant violation of the cease-fire agreement in Croatia, the U.S. Government is ruining its own image of a country known in the world for the rule of law.

It would be interesting to see how the Supreme Command of the U.S. Armed Forces would behave and what it would do if some paramilitary units in Arizona, for example, blocked off parts of the regular U.S. Army. With the stated stand, the United States openly supports the secessionist act on the part of the Croatian authorities. This is hard to understand, even more so since secession is considered to be one of the most serious crimes in the United States, certainly the most serious antistate act. In the last century, secession pushed this big country into a horrible civil war. Secessionists were defeated completely and their ideas, at least there in America, have been buried for good. Why then would the break up of the state be good for us, here in Yugoslavia? If somebody in America considers it to be good, proper, and nice that individuals, politicians, groups, or armed paramilitary units in Yugoslavia are breaking up this country and selling it at a shamefully low price, or are mistreating soldiers who have been left without food and water, why are they not bringing the same kind of bloody circus to their own backyard, so they can see what it looks like?

In the first half of this year, the political leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia suspended all federal laws, including the SFRY Constitution. Ethnic states were proclaimed in which the civil and human rights of members of other ethnic groups have virtually been annulled. Persecution of Serbs has begun in Croatia. This was followed by dismissals from jobs, arrests, destruction of houses, and even killings at the end.

The Serbian people in Croatia are experiencing the fate of the Kurds, but America's reaction is now the opposite. Not only does it not feel any need to criticize the persecutors, the new Croatian authorities, but it is even trying to block the Yugoslav People's Army, the only force still capable of preventing the massacre of the Serbian people in Croatia.

America is an economic and military superpower. It and its administration perhaps do not need to have a feeling for nuances in politics, but such a feeling is not necessary for what is appearing in the Balkans now. After 45 years, Europe is facing the rebirth of fascism, but this time under the guise of quasi-democracy of a young, Croatian kind.

Zagreb is the only city in the world to have abolished the Square of the Victims of Fascism, the only city in the world since World War II in which a Jewish community center has been destroyed. America either does not know this or does not want to know it. Europe is at the threshold of such a realization.

Let us remember, it was not so long ago that U.S. Secretary of State Baker came to Belgrade with a view to appointing Stjepan Mesic, one of the leaders of the pro-fascist Croat Democratic Community to the post of president of the SFRY Presidency. Baker said then that Americans support legitimacy and that they respect the Constitution. Meanwhile, this same Mesic, in cooperation with a well-known group in Yugoslavia, has managed to smother all federal organs and, finally, together with its ethnic armed force began a dirty war against the Yugoslav People's Army.

In just a few weeks we will see whether the United States of America is supporting such a war because it is not informed or because of its own interest.

POLITIKA Urges Markovic's Resignation

LD2109133291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Belgade September 21 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA today suggests to the federal prime minister, Ante Markovic, to resign.

In an article by its militury commentator Miroslav Lazanjski, the daily accuses Markovic of having done nothing for a timely notification of the governments in Bonn and Budapest about illegal arms deliveries to Yugoslavia, which POLITIKA views as "flagrant violations of the international code of conduct."

"Instead, the government has made the Army the target of attacks by para-military and irregular armed formations, the setting up of which Markovic had regarded as no more than an expression of the national folklore," the daily writes.

Markovic's latest move—his demand for the resignations of the federal Defence Minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, and his deputy, Admiral Stane Brovet—is in direct connection with Federal President Stipe Mesic's claim that "the army is out of control," writes POLITIKA.

The daily accuses Markovic of wasting his time on a cabinet reshuffle instead of "saying loud and clear who is responsible for the break of the ceasefire" agreed on September 17 in the Montenegrin coastal resort of Igalo with the mediation of British diplomat Lord Carrington.

"Yugoslavia is falling apart before the beaming federal prime minister, who has no intention of resigning," writes POLITIKA and wonders if "there is nobody to point him the way."

Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo Appeal to CSCE

AU2109111091 Tirana ATA in English 0959 GMT 21 Sep 91

["Albanian People in Yugoslavia Should be Defended and Their Existence Guaranteed—Memorandum of Albanian and Turkish Delegates From Kosovo Addressed to the CSCE"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 21 (ATA)—In its broadcast in the Albanian language, Radio Croatia reports that the Albanian and Turkish delegates in the Assembly of Yugoslavia have addressed a memorandum to the CSCE, through which they demand that the Albanian people, who are under the Serbian state genocide and terror, be defended and their existence, their political, economic, cultural, educational rights guaranteed. As freedom loving people, the Albanians seek from the CSCE in Moscow and on the basis of its fundamental documents to be given the possibility of free expression through the all-people referendum under the surveillance of the CSCE and of the United Nations, which will verify their free determination on their destiny.

Serbs Complain About Physical Maltreatment in Zagreb

AU2009135491 Belgrade RT Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Some time after 1800 [1600 GMT], a group of Serbs, who managed with great effort and at great risk to escape from Zagreb today, established telephone contact with Belgrade. According to their stories, an open season for Serbs, military personnel, and members of their families was initiated in the capital city of the Republic of Croatia.

Under the pretext of cleaning up the city from snipers, members of the Croatian Guard and armed civilians are storming Serb homes, beating up and mistreating people, and plundering their homes. Women and children are not spared this terror either. Several cases of rapes have been reported in the territory of new Zagreb alone. Many people are missing.

Croatian Radio and Television broadcast a list of names of Serbs, describing them as members of the fifth column and snipers. Through the inertia of hatred, the hunt for unprotected people started immediately after that. The situation is identical in all towns of Croatia in which Serbs are in a minority.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Doko Writes Kadijevic on Plans for Territory

LD2009174691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina National Defense Minister Jerko Doko sent a letter to Federal National Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic, the republic's National Defense Ministry announced today.

Minister Doko's letter claims "illegal organs are calling on the public to mobilize Yugoslav Army reservists. Volunteers are being mobilized regardless of regulations, while the use of Bosnia- Hercegovina territory to carry out military activities against the republic of Croatia is a direct threat to peace in Bosnia- Hercegovina."

The letter draws the Federal national defense secretary's attention to the fact that the Yugoslav Army is arming only those territorial defense units in which those doing their military service from the ranks of a single nation are predominant. Minister Doko expressed doubt that the Federal national defense secretary knows what officers under him are doing on the ground; therefore, he requested replies to the questions of "what in fact the Yugoslav Army is preparing in Bosnia-Hercegovina and why it is acting contrary to the agreements with the legal organs of authority in this republic."

Minister Doko says the letter was motivated by the fact that Federal Secretary Veljko Kadijevic in Igalo signed an act binding the Yugoslav Army to halt activities that lead directly to armed conflicts.

Soldiers, Reservists Arrive; Behavior Criticized

LD2009140991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Mostar, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—Ivica Lucic, head of the Mostar security services center, addressed the population of Hercegovina's capital on Mostar Radio, telling them that a large contingent of Yugoslavia People's Army [YPA] soldiers and reservists from Montenegro and municipalities of Eastern Hercegovina had arrived in Mostar and the broader territory of Hercegovina this morning.

The head of the center said that their behavior while passing through Stolac and other places along the high

road was violent and provocative. He said the soldiers were firing shots and lifting three fingers.

The head of the center also said, referring to unofficial information, that the movements were meant to protect Mostar airport, but that the Mostar Air Force garrison was not informed about it.

An extraordinary session is in progress in Mostar of top civil organs, with the commander of the Hercegovina territorial defense regional headquarters, Colonel Boris Mitar, and other officers commanding YPA units stationed in Mostar in attendance.

Presidency Demands Withdrawal of Armored Columns

LD2009203591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina is determined to remain outside the present armed conflict for its citizens' sake. The Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency has empowered Biljana Plavsic, Ejup Ganic, and Franjo Boras to leave immediately for Belgrade to demand, from the SFRY Armed Forces general staff, that the armored columns which entered this republic today leave in the same direction from which they came.

This is emphasized in today's statement from the Bosnia- Hercegovina Presidency session, chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, which considered the republic's latest crisis situation—the entry of a large number of unannounced military columns from Serbia and Montenegro into Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Presidency also demands that the competent military authorities (?postpone) mobilization of the territorial defense units throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is pointed out that the mobilization is being carried out to verify the units' combat readiness.

The Presidency also demands urgent cessation of warlike activities in Yugoslavia, in keeping with the EC agreement and the Igalo declaration by which the signatories accepted the cease-fire to establish peace. In this sense, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency sent a letter to the declaration's signatories—Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman, Veljko Kadijevic, and Lord Carrington, chairman of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia—in which it points out the dangers of extending conflicts to Bosnia- Hercegovina and energetically demands that this be prevented.

The Presidency again immediately demands that the SFRY Presidency hold a session, in keeping with the earlier adopted conclusion and the initiative by Bogic Bogicevic, SFRY Presidency member from Bosnia-Hercegovina, to consider Bosnia-Hercegovina's present political and security situation and to adopt corresponding decisions.

The Presidency has empowered the Internal Affairs Ministry to ensure public order and security with increased militia forces, especially in the crisis areas, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency statement concludes.

Presidency Letter

LD2109174991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today sent a message to the signatories of the Igalo Declaration—Lord Carrington, Slobodan Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman, and Veljko Kadijevic—which says:

I inform you, as one of the signatories of the Igalo Declaration, of the demands made at last night's session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina in connection with the situation which has arisen in the republic with the entry of unannounced military columns on to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina from several directions from Serbia and Montenegro.

The demands are:

The General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces should immediately issue an order that the armed columns must leave the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina along the same routes on which they came.

The authorized military authorities should order the mobilization of territorial units on the entire territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

War activities in Yugoslavia should be halted in keeping with the agreement reached with the EC and the Igalo statement.

The SFRY Presidency should immediately hold a session to discuss the current political and security situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and make the necessary decisions.

The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina is asking you to take specific steps so that political and armed conflicts do not spread to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina from other republics and parts of Yugoslavia, Izetbegovic said at the end of his message to Carrington, Milosevic, Tudjman, and Kadijevic.

Defense Ministry Says Army Causing Civil War

AU2109163491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] In its announcement issued today, the Ministry of National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina states that the latest moves by the Yugoslav Army are leading in the direction of causing civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The huge war machinery has been moved and reservists from the territories of Serbia and Montenegro have been brought to the Neretva valley [word indistinct] northeastern and northwestern Bosnia.

The state organs of Bosnia-Hercegovina have not been informed about these moves by the (?top leadership) of the Yugoslav Army. [words indistinct] that the military force that had been created by all peoples and nationalities has escaped all control and that it is following its communist, (?Bolshevist), and Stalinist logic (?and) serving only one people.

The Ministry for National Defense [word indistinct] is of the opinion that this republic's defense problems must be solved by the top state organs and that the Yugoslav Army does not represent a guarantee of peace in these regions. On the contrary, with its behavior, the Army is (?directly) causing interethnic clashes and is responsible for all possible consequences that may result from this.

(?Destroyed) and demolished property owned by ethnic Muslims in Nevesinje, maltreatment of children, and destruction of agricultural [words indistinct], the upset of the Muslim and Croatian population are mostly consequences of [word indistinct] of Army forces in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In its [word indistinct], which was signed by Minister Jerko Doko, the Ministry of National Defense once again calls the members of the Army to (?reason).

Crisis Monitoring Headquarters Set Up

LD2209095791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0906 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 September (TANJUG)—Following the extremely difficult situation in this republic, the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina has formed a crisis headquarters of the Presidency and government that will remain in permanent session. The task of the crisis headquarters is to monitor developments, launch initiatives, and suggest adequate solutions to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

The crisis headquarters members are Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency members Ejup Ganic—who will coordinate its work—and Biljana Plavsic and Franjo Boras; as well as commander of the Bosnia- Hercegovina Territorial Defense Colonel General Drago Vukosavljevic, Minister for National Defense Jerko Doko, and Minister for Internal Affairs Alija Delimustafic.

Bosnia Opposes Presence of Montenegrin Units

AU2209193291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Omer Vacic report from Mostar]

[Excerpt] Today at 1600, after a brief conversation with the mayor of Mostar, a delegation of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, led by Vice President of the Government Rusmir Mahmutcenhajic, started visiting the area around the military airport in Mostar and Domanovici, between (?Stolac) and Capljina where Montenegrin reservists of the Titograd Corps have been stationed since last Friday. None of the official communal or republican organs have been informed about their arrival and intentions.

Their arrival and the disorderly behavior by several groups of the members of this unit—who opened fire on citizens' houses in (?Vracevica) and (?Grajnica) and disarmed one police patrol in Domanovici last night and another one in Mostar today—has caused great anxiety among the citizens in Hercegovina and led to many hundreds of people fleeing the area. Therefore, the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina decided to react energetically.

Vice Premier Rusmir Mahmutcehajic said that the government will not allow any disorderly and violent behavior. According to the information that arrived from Montenegro, this delegation, which also includes Jerko Doko, defense minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, will convey a clear message from the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the Montenegrin units that they immediately return where they came from. The delegation will first hold talks with the citizens of Jasenica, Rodoc, Bacevici, and Gnojnice, and then with the commanders of the Montenegrin reservists.

The delegation of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina is accompanied by the commanders of the Mostar and Air Force Garrison, the mayors of Mostar and Capljina, and the president of the Stolac government.

During the short talk today, before the delegation went to visit the area, the journalists indirectly learned that there is probably a large military formation deployed on a wider area of east Hercegovina. Judging by everything, only a smaller part of these units is stationed near Mostar, Capljina, and Stolac. Nevertheless, even this smaller part numbers some 10,000 well-armed men. During this talk we also learned that the command of this formation is in Kifino Selo in the Nevesinje commune, near the Nevesinje-Gacko road, and that they are under the command of Generals (?Stokic) and Torbica, whose names were not mentioned tonight. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Defense Ministry Divided Over Current Policies

AU2209183391 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] A communique issued today—signed by the deputy minister of defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the under secretary, and the chief republican inspector in the Ministry of National Defense—states, among other things, the following:

Regarding the statement issued by the Ministry for National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the media, which was signed by [Bosnian Defense] Minister Jerko Doko, we inform the public that this is yet another example of the obstinacy of the minister who signed the

statement and an expression of subordination of this ministry's entire activities to the practical realization of the policy of the Croatian Democratic Community in Croatia and Bosnia- Hercegovina. In this process, the interests of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia in defense preparations are completely ignored.

Minister Doko and a group of like-minded people are using special telephone and other communication links that have been established only with the Ministry of National Defense of Croatia. As regards the defense preparations of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the minister is interested in them only if they fit with the orders and policies of the Republic of Croatia and if they generate anti-Yugoslav and anti- Army effects in the public, the communique points out.

Leader of Bosnian Serbs Denounces Pelivan

AU2209195391 Novi Sad TVNS Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in the Sarajevo Studio, by Jovan Nikolic in the Novi Sad Studio—live]

[Excerpt] [Nikolic] Good evening, Mr. Karadzic.

[Karadzic] Good evening.

[Nikolic] I invited you to be a guest of our newscast and answer several questions that we consider to be of general interest for everyone who is watching us.

First of all, I would like to recall the statement by Jure Pelivan, president of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to which the mobilization of the forces for the Yugoslav People's Army was illegal because young men are going to the Republic of Croatia, that is to say, to another republic, and are losing their lives there. What is your view on this statement.

[Karadzic] Mr. Pelivan has had his personal motives for such statements for a long time. He thinks that Yugoslavia as a sovereign state no longer exists and that federal regulations and laws do not exist either. According to what we know, everything is all right with the mobilization. It is being carried out according to federal regulations and laws, and we think that the unified system of the defense of the country will be preserved according to the federal Constitution. Statements by Mr. Pelivan will not help much in this respect. [passage omitted]